DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 425 220 UD 032 631

TITLE	Following the Fourth World Conference on Women -- Let's Expand Grass-Roots Networking! Proceedings of the International Forum on Intercultural Exchange (Saitama, Japan, November 15-17, 1995).
INSTITUTION	National Women's Education Centre, Saitama (Japan).
PUB DATE	1995-00-00
NOTE	114p.; For various conference proceedings sponsored by NWEC, see UD 032 627-633.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Conferences; Cooperation; Elementary Secondary Education; Environment; *Equal Education; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); *Females; Foreign Countries; *Information Dissemination; Japanese; *Networks; *Participative Decision Making; Sex Role; Shared Resources and Services; *Womens Studies
IDENTIFIERS	Environmental Protection; Japan

ABSTRACT

Based on the success of the Fourth World Conference on Women, the National Women's Education Centre of Japan planned and carried out the 1995 International Forum on Intercultural Exchange to search for an up-to-date understanding of the problems of women and ways to solve them and to develop a network of already existing groups. This Forum focused on four issues: (1) international cooperation; (2) environmental protection; (3) education; and (4) participation in decision making to ensure the improvement of women. The following papers are presented in English translations or, in some cases, in the original English: (1) "The NGO Forum on Women '95: Expanding Women's Political Space" (Non-Governmental Organization) (Irene M. Santiago); (2) "International Co-operation and Gender Issues: From a Welfare Approach to the Empowerment of Women" (Daniela Colombo); (3) "Who Made Nature Our Enemy? (An Eco-feminist Analysis)" (Maria Miles); (4) "Paradoxes in Education and Life Chances: Access, Content and Opportunity in Women's Lives in Japan and America" (Merry I. White); (5) "Women's Participation in the Decision-Making Process" (Reiko Aoki); (6) "Women's Viewpoints on International Co-operation" (summary of group discussion) (Tatsuo Hayashi); (7) "Women's Contribution to Environmental Protection" (summary of group discussion) (Junko Matsubara); (8)"Education and Gender Equality" (summary of group discussion) (Kumiko Bando);and (9) "Participation in the Decision-Making Process" (summary of group discussion) (Reiko Aoki). A summary of comments at the Plenary Session is also included, as are remarks by the conference organizer and the Director General of Japan's Lifelong Learning Bureau. (SLD)

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ED 425 220

International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1995

Following the Fourth World Conference on Women

—let's expand grass-roots networking!—

Wednesday, 15 ~ Friday, 17 November 1995

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National Women's Education Centre

UD 032631

International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1995

* Published by
National Women's Education Centre, Japan, 1996
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Saitama 355-02, Japan
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INTRODUCTION

The National Women's Education Centre was established in 1977. It held a UNESCO International Seminar in 1980, midyear of the UN Decade for Women, and since then it has sponsored international seminars and international exchange forums inviting specialists from within Japan and abroad on issues concerning women and family.

Last year in September, the Fourth World Conference on Women and the NGO Forum on Women '95 were held in Beijing, China, making it a meaningful year in which new steps were taken toward the advancement of the status of women.

Based on the success of the Conference on Women and the NGO Forum, the Centre planned and carried out 1995 International Exchange Forum, with the objective of reaching for an up-to-date understanding of the problems of women and ways to solve them as well as to develop a network of already existing groups in local areas that are involved in intercultural exchange.

The Forum focused on four specific issues: international co-operation; environmental protection; education and participation in decision-making to ensure the improvement of women under the broad theme of "Following the Fourth World Conference on Women - let's expand grass-roots networking!"

This report has been prepared on the basis of lectures by specialists and the records of sub-session and plenary session discussion. I wish to sincerely thank the specialists not only for their presentation and advice and chairing of the sessions but also for willingly agreeing to write materials for the report and proof reading the manuscript.

It is hoped that this report will be a helpful resource not only for persons who are interested in intercultural exchange, but also for those who participate in women's issues.

Teruko Ohno
Director-General

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1. Prospectus of International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1995

1. Purpose

Taking into account the results of the Fourth World Conference on Women and the NGO Forum on Women, the International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1995 seek ways of understanding the situation of women and looked for solutions to problems of women's issues. Furthermore, it aimed at networking amongst international exchange groups, especially those which are closely linked to the community, in order to facilitate co-operation between women all over the world.

2. Theme

"Following the Fourth World Conference on Women, let's expand grass-roots networking!"

3. Period and venue

Wednesday, 15 ~ Friday, 17 November 1995
National Women's Education Centre (NWEC)

4. Summary of Programme

(1) Keynote Speech

"The NGO Forum on Women '95: Expanding Women's Political Space"
Ms. Irene Santiago
Executive Director, NGO Forum on Women '95

(2) Lecture I: International Co-operation

《Co-ordinator》	Dr. Tatsuo Hayashi Medical Doctor, Ex-Director, Japan International Volunteer Centre (JVC)
《Speaker》	Ms. Daniela Colombo President, Italian Association for Women in Development (AIDoS)

"International Co-operation and Gender Issues: from a Welfare Approach to the Empowerment of Women"

(3) Lecture II: Environmental Protection

〈Co-ordinator〉 Dr. Junko Matsubara
Dean, Yokohama City University College of Nursing
〈Speaker〉 Dr. Maria Mies
Eco-feminist, Former professor, Fachhochschule of Koulen

"Who Made Nature Our Enemy? (An Eco-feminist Analysis)"

(4) Lecture III: Education

〈Co-ordinator〉 Ms. Kumiko Bando
Director, Women's Education Division, Lifelong Learning Bureau, Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture
〈Speaker〉 Dr. Merry I. White
Professor, Boston University
Associate in Research, Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, Harvard University

"Paradoxes in Education and Life Chances: Access, Content and Opportunity in Women's Lives in Japan and America"

(5) Lecture IV: Decision-making

〈Co-ordinator〉 Ms. Chikako Uemura
Head, Programme Division, National Women's Education Centre (NWEC)
〈Speaker〉 Dr. Reiko Aoki
Professor, University of the Sacred Heart

"Women's Participation in the Decision-making Process"

(6) Resume of Group Discussions

(7) Resume of Plenary Session

2. Proceedings of International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1995

Words of Welcome

Teruko Ohno
Director-General
National Women's Education Centre

Today. I would like to extend my appreciation for your participation in the International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1995. We have been blessed by good weather with the beautiful skies of autumn. and I am indeed pleased to be able to greet you here at the National Women's Education Centre with its spectacular autumn colours.

Participating in this Forum are thirteen members of the Seminar for Senior Officers of National Machineries for the Advancement of Women 1995. three persons from the Korean Women's Development Institute. two persons from the Foundation Huwomanity Centered Development of the Philippines. one person from Canada. and about 180 persons from within Japan. Being greeted by Director-General Kusahara from the Lifelong Learning Bureau of the Ministry of Education. Science. Sports and Culture increases the significance of this Forum. I think.

The National Women's Education Centre was established in 1977. to commemorate the International Women's Year. as the only social educational institution for women in the nation. Since that time. it has promoted study related to women and families. leadership training. and exchange both within Japan and on an international level. It has also collected and provided information. carried out research studies. and had its facilities utilised by a variety of people and groups. During these eighteen years. over 1.800.000 people have used the NWEC. with more than 11.000 persons coming from 137 countries outside Japan.

With regard to international exchange programmes we jointly sponsored. in 1980. the International Seminar on Women's Education. Training and Employment with UNESCO. Beginning the next year. we have held a number of international seminars and forums. inviting specialists from abroad. and dealing with such themes as women's participation in the society. women's information. family education and women in development.

At this year's forum. we will begin with the results of the Fourth World Conference on Women and the NGO Forum on Women '95 held in September. and then reach for an up-to-date understanding of the problems and ways to solve them. At the same time. we hope to build a network of already existing groups in local areas that are presently involved in intercultural exchange, for the purpose of building solidarity with women around the world. The Platform for Action that received unanimous approval at the Fourth World Conference on Women begins with the words, "The Platform for Action is an agenda for women's empowerment." This forum is aimed at making the empowerment of women a certainty. Lectures and discussion will centre around four main themes: International Co-operation, Environmental Protection, Education and Decision-making.

We have with us four specialists from abroad who have taken time out of their busy schedule to be with us. They are: Ms. Irene Santiago, Ms. Daniela Colombo, Dr. Maria Mies and Dr. Merry White. With the co-operation of specialists in Japan, we are now able to carry out this programme. I want to extend my appreciation to all of you for your participation.

At this Centre, we are also holding other programmes related to the Beijing Conference. Thanks to the help of many, we opened on November 1 a special exhibit of materials related to the Beijing Conference in our display lobby. I hope you will take the time to look at these during this Forum.

Words of Welcome

Mr. Katsuhide Kusahara
Director-General, Lifelong Learning Bureau
Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture

As a representative of the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, I am deeply honoured to have the opportunity to welcome all of you to this, the opening of the International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1995 sponsored by the National Women's Education Centre.

It goes without saying that all people have a desire to choose their own way of life, and as they take part in a variety of activities in the society, they hope to discover a reason for living. It is regrettable, however, that women do not have anywhere near as many opportunities to accomplish this as men do. Even though the development of women's skills is progressing, as shown by the fact the percentage of female students who advance to the junior college and university level is higher than that of male students, this phenomenon does not necessarily lead to more women's participation in the society. I think this is something that must be changed as soon as possible.

Towards this objective, the government is working to promote whatever measures are necessary to bring about the realisation of a gender equal society where men and women can participate in all areas of involvement on an equal basis, by placing the achievement of a society of gender equality as a top priority. At present, the Prime Minister has requested the Council for Gender Equality to consider a "comprehensive vision of a gender equal society as we look towards the twenty-first century," aiming for the submission of an interim report by mid-December.

This problem is not unique to Japan, however. As the world has become smaller, and all phases of the society become more international in nature, the number of issues that are held in common by all countries increases, and this is true for women-related issues, too. Through mutual exchange on the international level, countries come to understand each other more deeply, as they are being called on to stand in solidarity with each other while searching for solutions to problems.

In September of this year, the first world conference on women to be convened in Asia was held in Beijing, China. Government representatives from 191 different countries, and many United Nations-related institutions, governmental institutions and NGOs participated.

The Platform for Action and Beijing Declaration were adopted with the hope that they would become guidelines for future activities in each country. The NGO Forum, held before the Conference, drew much interest, with thirty thousand people from countries all over the world, including about five thousand women from Japan, in attendance.

It is my hope that the successes of the Beijing Conference will give a boost to each country's attempts to bring about gender equality in the future.

At the World Conference on Women, the Japanese representatives proposed three important pillars aimed at improving the status of women. The first was the empowerment of women, the second - respect for the rights of women, and the third - the building of partnership. They especially emphasised the importance of education as a key to empowerment, expressing the need to develop positive measures to promote this concept.

At the present time, the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture is promoting a variety of measures aimed at building a society of lifelong learning. You might ask what a society of lifelong learning is. First, it is a society in which people are able to study at any time during their lifetime. Secondly, it is a society where people can independently and of their own volition choose the opportunity to learn that best suits them. And, thirdly, it is a society where the results of their study will be evaluated appropriately. The building of a society of lifelong learning containing these three aspects is a major aim of educational reform at this time. In the midst of this, a major focus is the enrichment of diverse learning opportunities where women can develop skills and receive training throughout their lives. As we move towards partnerships between men and women, we are also working to enrich measures advocating a tangible equality, mutual understanding and mutual co-operation.

I think the fact that this International Forum on Intercultural Exchange is being held at this time is of great significance. At this Forum, we begin where the World Conference on Women left off. While searching for a way to grasp the present situation and move towards solutions for the involvement of women in the society, we aim to build grassroots networks among established local groups that are involved in international exchange. Over the next three days, I look forward to the development of a lively and full discussion.

In closing, I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to the four speakers who have been invited from abroad for coming, and sincerely hope that everyone's enthusiasm and strong sense of involvement will bring prolific results, so that everyone will be able to return home with a sense of accomplishment.

Thank you very much.

《Keynote Speech》

The NGO Forum on Women '95: Expanding Women's Political Space

Ms. Irene M. Santiago
Executive Director
NGO Forum on Women '95

Good afternoon, everybody. First, I would like to thank Ms.Ohno and Mr.Kusahara for the invitation to come here and be with you today. I am certainly very pleased to be here with my Japanese sisters and a few brothers as well as with my colleagues who have been invited to this forum. What I would like to do this afternoon is to tell you what I think we have achieved at the Fourth World Conference on Women as well as the NGO Forum on Women, and how we can proceed with post Beijing activities. I would like to open the floor after my presentation so we can discuss this together.

In planning anything, one finds it good to begin with the end. In planning the NGO Forum on Women, we started by asking ourselves what we wanted to see at the end of the process. It was clear that we wanted to see a stronger global women's movement that could position itself to influence life at the end of this century and the imminent beginning of the next one. What is a stronger women's movement? It is one driven by an enduring vision to which diverse groups of women could commit themselves. It is one that has the capacity to undertake changes. And it is one that is heard and taken seriously.

In attempting to define the new world order in which women matter, we adopted the theme: "Look at the World through Women's Eyes." It was both a framework to analyse politics, economics and culture as well as a lens to reimagine the world that would be good for women, men and children to live in. To develop the capacity to undertake changes, it was necessary to be strategic to develop skills and get organised. It was also essential to develop or strengthen structures that would relate to the other major actors in decision making. Only in this way could women and NGOs hope to tear down the world that excluded women in decision making.

The Fourth World Conference on Women provided a tremendous opportunity to expand the political space for women in all levels, local, national, regional and international. In 1993 when the preparations for the Conference began, where were NGO and women, where was our political space? Today we don't have time to go through the evolution of the modern global women's movement. So let me confine my remarks to what has been happening at the U.N. vis-à-vis NGO and women.

1975, as you all know, marked a milestone for the women's movement when the UN organised the first International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City. The next year, the UN Decade for Women was launched. Subsequently conferences were held in Copenhagen in 1980 to measure progress and in Nairobi in 1985 to commemorate the end of the Decade for Women.

These UN conferences gave legitimacy to the demands of women. More importantly it stimulated many programmes, projects, debate, data collection, researches and studies, and reform. In Nairobi in 1985 I was very active in the preparations for the NGO Forum. What was quite distinctive about the Forum was that except for a few consultative status NGO, no activist NGO I knew was interested in influencing what was going on in the UN conference. As you all know since 1979 NGOs have held the parallel event to a UN conference. It is called the NGO Forum. It has traditionally been initiated by some NGOs in consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council who have formed themselves into a group called CONGO or Conference of NGOs.

To be in consultative status with the UN, NGOs went through a rigorous application process and accreditation took years to be approved. In the history of NGO access to the UN, 1992 was a very significant year. 1992 was the year the Earth Summit was held in Rio de Janeiro. The General Assembly broke new ground by admitting non-consultative status NGO as observers to the UN conference. In other words, any NGO whose work had any relevance to the theme of environment and development could apply for accreditation to the conference.

What this did was to open the UN conference for the first time to many more NGOs who had expertise and experience to provide important input to the UN debates. After 1992 it was impossible for the UN to go back to business as usual. NGO demanded to be accredited to the Human Rights Conference in Vienna in 1993, the Population Conference in Cairo in 1994, the Social Summit in Copenhagen in 1995.

On the part of Women's NGOs there was a recognition that women's perspective needed to be strongly put forward. So women grouped themselves into a caucus that has been recognised as one of the most sophisticated and focused. What this also meant was that women were now beginning to be the major players in the definition and redefinition of concepts and ideas of human rights, sustainable development, economic justice and population and development.

It was now clear that all issues were women's issues and the UN, as the place where negotiations were made on all these issues, was an arena where women have become increasingly influential. It is easy for women to decide on an effective strategy. Having been victims of exclusion, the effective strategy is of course inclusion and participation. Participation is also a key to creating commitment to action. When people own the process, they will want to be involved in creating the outcome.

So the NGO Forum on Women proceeded to organise preparations for the Fourth Conference on Women and the Forum by involving as many groups as possible and by diversifying the leadership. In Japan, as in many other countries, NGOs were important partners with government in national level preparations. National NGOs banded together to work through regional NGO working groups. In Asia and the Pacific, the formation of the Asia and Pacific NGO working group was critical in relating to ESCAP, the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.

It was critical that NGOs participated in the process. Allow me to tell you about the process in Asia and the Pacific because that became the model for other regions. In 1993, when ESCAP was beginning to organise the regional NGO symposium, they were planning to invite only 30 NGOs in the region. I don't know how they were going to choose the 30 NGOs considering that even in this room alone, there are more than 30 NGOs!

So NGOs went to ESCAP with a demand to be part of the planning process. The NGOs demanded to be involved in making the decisions about content and participation. Eventually, ESCAP opened up the process and participation in the symposium was open to any NGO from the region. More than 800 NGOs participated in the symposium in Manila, instead of the original 30. This was women's power beginning to assert itself. In the end, of course, the agenda of the NGO symposium was set not by ESCAP but by the NGOs themselves.

This model of a regional NGO working group dealing formally with the UN regional economic commission was used also in Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe and North America, the Arab region and Africa. So in each region, for the very first time in the history of UN conference, NGO organised regional NGO working groups, and for the very first time also organised regional NGO Forums in all five UN regions. If you can see the process, traditionally an NGO forum was held only on a global level at the time of conference itself. Now with the women's conference, NGOs organised five regional NGO Forums to parallel the five regional UN Conferences.

You can imagine how many women and women's NGO participated in that process. We now calculate that there must have been 10,000 NGOs involved in that regional process alone. What is really very interesting is that every single NGO Forum always had double the number that was originally expected, except Asia. Asia expected 30 and got 800. Africa expected 1,500 and 3,500 appeared. You can imagine the logistical nightmare for the organisers of this Forums. What it showed was a lot of interest and commitment on the part of NGOs.

Many NGOs were not used to working with the UN. NGOs who had been working on local issues and national issues now saw that whatever they were working on the ground had some relationship with what was going on in the world. So they were saying, "My local issue has a global context. I am going to have my voice heard on the global level. Then when I come back on the local level, I work on my issue again." We had a very diverse group of people who were working on different levels.

What was also very interesting was that we had different issue networks coming together across issue lines. Women who were working on human rights, environment, health and media etc., worked together not only across issue lines but also across national boundaries. Non-accredited NGOs and consultative status NGOs also started to work together. In Japan, you have had the experience of activist NGOs not wanting to work with academics and researchers, for example. But this time everybody started to work together.

From the beginning of the NGO process, we were committed to a few things. We were committed to making sure that marginalised sectors of women had a voice. These included grassroots women, peasant women, refugees and stateless women, women with disabilities, older women and young women. We always tried to make sure that they were included and drawn into the process.

The second thing we were committed to was skills training. When you want to influence the United Nations, you need a few skills. One of the skills is lobbying. When you lobby, you need to understand how the UN works. In all the five regions, training was done on lobbying techniques and skills. What happened was that a lot more women gained the skills to negotiate with the governments in the UN process. The UN was not this mystical place any more. It was a place where women could go and have their voices heard. This was very important because sometimes women do not get positions of decision making because of the mystique that is created around some institutions. When you have the skills to influence an institution, the mystique fades away.

The results were phenomenal. Women worked together and defined common ground. Many women developed skills to do the negotiations. Lastly and more importantly, local, national and regional groups worked together in the international arena and then go back to regional, national and local groups in order to bring back the results of their work.

Was the United Nations ready for us? Not really. The UN has its own structures and its own way of doing things. One very contentious issue was access. At the PrepCom in March 1995, some NGOs did not receive accreditation. Some of these were human rights NGOs. Some of the them, like Catholics for a Free Choice, were considered by the Vatican as not worthy of accreditation. So, from the process of accreditation, NGOs had to struggle for open access. Clearly women were starting to threaten the status quo.

Then, out of the blue came the controversy over the change of the Forum site from Beijing to Huairou. The announcement came on March 31, 1995, five months before the Forum. In my sober moments I think I should have resigned at that point. How could a Forum for 30,000 participants be organised in five months! (In the end, we actually had two and one-half months only.) But I have always believed that one is entitled to do one crazy thing in one's life. This was my crazy thing!

During the Huairou controversy, the women's movement decided not to target China but the UN. NGOs wanted the UN to acknowledge that NGOs were an integral part of the UN process. And if that were so, the UN must be a party to the negotiations with the host government on an appropriate site for the Forum. Many of you sent faxes and petitions. The unprecedented global mobilisation went on for two months. Media attention was intense. This, in a sense, opened the political space for women and NGOs even wider.

We had to find a win-win-win situation to the Huairou site change. The UN, the Chinese and the NGOs all had to win. With a win-lose situation, everybody would have lost. We polled many women leaders around the world about what it was that would make them accept Huairou. They set eight conditions. In the end, we got all those conditions, so Huairou was accepted as the site.

The intervention of the UN was very important because it recognised the fact that NGOs are integral partners in the UN process. In fact, when Mr. Ismat Kittani, the Secretary-General's representative to the Beijing Conference, visited Huairou he said that it would be a good idea next time there was a UN Conference, for the General Assembly Resolution to specify the conditions the host country was willing to guarantee related not only to the UN Conference but the NGO Forum as well. Now this was a big shift. If you remember, in the beginning, the UN was saying it could not intervene in the Huairou controversy because it was not a party to the NGO Forum Letter of Agreement with China. I think that the shift in official attitude was a result of the successful mobilisation undertaken by the women world-wide.

One other thing that we thought would happen but didn't was the backlash. We were all afraid that after Cairo we would be pushed back because the religious conservatives were coming together in a way they had never done before. Why didn't the backlash materialise? Because our global mobilisation showed we had a political base. If we did not have political clout, do you think they would not have turned us back? My definition of empowerment is very simple. Empowerment is to be taken seriously. Were we taken seriously? Yes, we were. It is therefore necessary for us to celebrate this victory. Women have a hard time celebrating because we have been victims for so long. When we achieve something and succeed in something, we do not celebrate. But this is something to celebrate about.

At the UN Conference, there were 4,995 government delegates and 4,035 NGO representatives. This is almost a one to one ratio. This phenomenon is a big leap from Nairobi 10 years ago when NGOs were not so well represented in government delegations nor were there too many NGOs with observer status. NGOs are now convinced that the UN is a very important public arena in which to be engaged.

Now, let me give you a few of the advances we made in the Platform for Action. One of the things that came out loud and strong was women's rights as human rights. As a background, I would like to quote Charlotte Bunch, a feminist author and activist, who is one of the leading lights of the women's human rights movement. She says: "The original terminology of human rights, as we know it today, came initially from the experience of white, propertied European and American males who did not need to worry about violence in the family or poverty because this was not his problem. His human right needs where he felt his humanity was most violated was in relation to the state in terms of matters such as his right to freedom of religion and speech. While these issues are also important to women and other groups around the world, we have had to seek redefinition of human rights that acknowledges the first fundamental of all human rights is the right to exist, the right to life itself. This requires looking at the right to food, and the right to freedom from violence both in the home and in the street. Of course, women also need the right to freedom from violence from the state. But many women do not even get to the point where the state is the problem because women are still so oppressed in their homes and by the economy they are often unable to take political actions which might put them into human rights conflict in the political sphere."

I would like to read also four other parts from the Platform for Action that I think have advanced the status of women. The Section C on Health which contained almost a quarter of all the disagreements. I can't believe why our bodies have become the big area for debate. Final text of the Section C on Health, that is paragraph 97 if you all see it later in the Platform for Action, says, "The human rights of women include their rights to have control over and decide freely and responsively on matters related to their sexuality including sexual and reproductive health free of caution, discrimination and violence." That is really very good formulation of women's demands.

Another is the whole Section on Family. This is just one sentence that is very critical, "Women play a critical role in the family and various forms of family exist in different cultural, political and social systems." Of course there were discussions that there was only one kind of family. That is man, woman and children. There is now a recognition that different forms of family exist.

And then on Parental Rights and Duties. I am just giving you the Sections where there were a lot of discussions. Parental Rights and Duties are balanced by the right of adolescent girl's to privacy and counselling with the rights and duties of parents, but notes that the primary consideration is the best interest of the child.

Finally on the Spacing of Children. "The right to decide the number and spacing of

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children and to attain the higher standard of sexual and reproductive health is an aim for women."

Over all, you can say that we have now moved from needs to rights. If you notice from 1985 to 1995, the discourse has moved from basic needs to basic rights. Again I would like to read from Charlotte Bunch because again she says it much better than I could. She says, "The work on human rights is a part of process of redefining that women are doing in relation to all the fundamental questions of our global order, democracy, development, environment, peace and etc. We must look at those questions from the point of view of women's lives and from the point of view of all those who have been marginalised by the dominant paradigm and definitions of this concept. In this way we begin to pose alternatives to move towards the model of society that is not based on domination and alienation and divisiveness that we see in the world today."

At the Forum, you understand that there were two events, the Fourth World Conference on Women and the Forum. Of course NGOs were in the Conference. But the Forum itself was self-contained. We had our own agenda at the Forum. When we organised the facilities, again we used the same thrusts that we had in organising for the past two years. We had regional tents, so people could continue networking regionally. We also had diversity tents. Peasant women had their own tents. Young women had their own tents. Refugee women, women with disabilities, older women and indigenous women also had their tents.

We also made sure that we focused on young women and men. We registered 1,400 men. One participant later told me that it was a very good meeting because for the first time she went to a huge Women's Conference where there was no male bashing.

There were 5,000 requests for activities. Our staff had to schedule 5,000 activities within the space of two and half months. Those of you who were in Huairou, please understand that we did everything that was humanly possible. But preparing the programme and logistics for 5,000 activities and about 30,000 participants within two and half months with 35 full-time staff --- all I can say is that we did what we could! The activities and events were very successful. Participants said that the workshops were particularly good because they represented about 20 years of women's experiences.

Now I would like to discuss some of the things we are doing post-Beijing. The database of NGOs that registered for the Forum, with their addresses and contact numbers will be available on the World Wide Web. That means that those of you who have access to the Internet will have access to the registration database. Let's say you want to organise a meeting on the environment and you want to invite some NGOs from Chile. It will be possible for you to access all the registered NGOs in Chile working on the environment. This way we hope that networking will continue.

The following will also be available on the NGO Forum on Women page on the World Wide Web: all the plenary speeches, regional documents, regional preparations, pictures, all the workshops and their organisers, and cultural events. In addition to this, we are compiling all the plenary speeches in a book to be published in English, Spanish and French. The speeches will be on the five global forces that we discussed in the plenaries, forces that have the widest impact on women's lives at this period in our history. These global forces include the following: approaches to governance, political participation and citizenship; threats to peace and human security; challenges posed by media, culture and communication; globalisation of the economy and the impact of the technological revolution on work; and the rise of conservatism in all its forms. The analyses, strategies and action agendas discussed at the plenaries will be available both on the Internet and in book form.

What is the future? The Platform for Action says that by the end of 1996 the governments who have the primary responsibility for implementation of the Platform for Action should have their plan, with specific target and budgets and monitoring mechanisms. Those of you who are in governments and in NGOs, you have your work cut out for you because your government has to come up by the end of 1996 with this plan. Read the Platform for Action and hold your government's feet to the fire. It is your chance again on the national level to expand your political space. But, beyond the Platform for Action, we have to respond to the five global forces that I just mentioned governance, threats to peace and human security, media, globalisation of the economy, rise of conservatism. We have to respond to those five global forces as well.

What do NGOs need to do? We need to develop again wide range of capacities including the capacity to influence policy. We have to develop those skills. We have to enter into alliances with other progressive movements such as the environment movement, human rights movement, grass-roots people's movement. We can not continue as just the women's movement on its own. Then we have to position ourselves to be autonomous from governments and donors. Lastly, we have to continue to develop our self-esteem as women.

One of the things that I think would be very important is to develop formal mechanisms for NGOs to relate to government. I think what was weak with Nairobi was that we did not come up with any formal mechanisms for NGOs to relate to government. We will need formal mechanisms in our work with government, the regional economic commissions, relate to the division for the Advancement of Women, relate to the Commission on the Status of Women.

Finally, we have to get engaged in politics. One of the worrisome statistics in Japan is that there are fewer women voting. There is a decline in the rate of women who vote. There is also a decline in the number of women in public office. But that is not as worrisome as when women don't even want to vote. What does it mean? You are frustrated, but you don't do anything about it? That is really worrisome. That is something that we all need to discuss. Tomorrow, I hope you discuss at the group discussion what we are going to have on politics. If we don't like it, what do we do?

Because the work that NGOs and women have engaged in the past two years, and even before that, is nothing less then advancing the movement towards democratisation. If you look back to the Charter of the United Nations, it does not say "We the nations of the United Nations", it says "We the peoples of the United Nations." In our work in the past two years, we have re-established the fundamental basis for democracy. The participation of people in decisions that affect their lives.

We position ourselves within the discussions essential for action. That is my other favourite definition of power. "Power is the capacity to have one's place in whatever discourse is essential for action and to have one's part matter." If your part does not matter, you have no power. If you are not engaged in the discourse essential for action, you have no power. I hope you understand that the process we used in the NGO Forum this past two years was that.

For Japanese NGOs, you have a big responsibility. One out of every six participants in Huairou was a Japanese woman. One out of six. Are we going to feel any change because Japanese women came to Huairou? That's for you to answer. We need for you to form yourselves into an active political force committed to change. No one empowers anyone else. You empower yourself. That was the strength of the process in the past two years. You must build on it.

Your sisters in Asia and the Pacific and in the rest of the world need your leadership. Ensuring the Japanese ODA, Japanese industries and business do not disadvantage women, but instead benefit them, your Asian sisters look to you for leadership in this important area. You also need to plan for transition of leadership to the next generation. We all need to change the power structures because only then will everyone start to look at the world through women's even. Thank you.

《Lecture I: International Co-operation》

International Co-operation and Gender Issues: from a Welfare Approach to the Empowerment of Women

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International development cooperation and gender issues: from a welfare approach to the empowerment of women (by Daniela Colombo)

Since the end of the Second World War an enormous amount of funds have been channelled through both bilateral and multilateral international cooperation to Third World countries in order to promote their economic and social development. Thousands of pages have been written on the ineffectiveness of this aid and a close examination of this literature confirms that development aid has not succeeded in reaching two fundamental objectives: to improve social justice and the equitable distribution of resources and to increase the economic possibilities of the majority of the world's poor. On the contrary the number of people living in poverty is steadily increasing. This holds particularly true for Third World women. Among the over one billion people that have remained untouched by the global economic progress, the great majority are women.

Attention to the problems of women in developing societies was first induced by the vast empirical and theoretical research of the neo-feminist movement in the West and stimulated by United Nations action and by the international activities undertaken since the first Women's Conference in Mexico City in 1975. It gradually has become clear that not only is there a women's issue in most Third World countries - since their structure is often founded on a concept of the inferiority of women and a denial of their right to actively participate in social life - but there is also a women's issue characteristic of these countries. In other words, underdevelopment has specific and particularly grave implications for the status of women, implications that are being accentuated rather than mitigated by the process of modernization.

Until the early 1970s, literature on Third World women was limited to studying them from an anthropological point of view, within family relationships, marriage and sexual roles. Women's productive roles and the significance of these roles in economic, social and political terms in pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial societies, were rarely addressed. The principle obstacle to research in the field of women and development was the scarcity of data, a scarcity that not only reflected a lack of interest, but also an underlying prejudice which considered women's absence from certain fields and areas of activity as natural. Research results that attempted to disclose women's marginalization were considered of minor importance and of no use for development practitioners. It was Ester Boserup who, in her book Women in economic development gave a structured framework to many of the ideas that had been floating around in international development cooperation agencies for some time. The void of information and data is partly filled today with an ever growing women and development bibliography which, unfortunately, is still the domain of only a small constituency of WID activists and practitioners who have been struggling to translate the research results and their analysis into actual development initiatives.

Modernization and the condition of women

The relationship between the condition of women and social and economic development manifests itself in different ways in the various developing countries. This diversity reflects the fact that while developed countries tend to have similar social structures and, therefore, similar socio-cultural problems, including those related to the status and the condition of women, less developed countries instead tend to be very different with a variety of situations and problems which are actually at the root of the failure of development models. However, there are common traits that can be delineated in these countries: the dualistic organisation of the economy with the dichotomy between the traditional and modern sectors and the problems typical of underdevelopment: malnutrition, chronic diseases, elevated infant mortality rates, and difficulty in attaining self-sufficient and durable growth processes.

It is true that in developing countries, the problems of women are inseparably tied to those of their societies. Within the framework of underdevelopment, however, women's problems remain specific problems, which depend not only on their role in the family, but also on their economic and social status. The gap between men and women is both the most significant and the one which is most exacerbated by economic development. The diffusion of the market economy in developing countries has brought about modernization processes and a restructuring of the traditional economy which has often reinforced the disadvantaged position of women.

Women's problems are certainly linked to the frenetic urbanization, to the impoverishment of agriculture, and the adoption of western consumption models, but it is also apparent that a disparity between men and women also existed before colonization and modernization, though several local writers have been re-evaluating the role of women in traditional societies. While it is true that in certain cases, women did enjoy notable prestige as producers and had a considerable sphere of ritual and political autonomy in the pre-colonial period, they rarely held rights that were equal to men, and religious and cultural taboos often reinforced their subordination.

Those political classes in developing countries which look at tradition as a myth and a symbol, in reality exploit those characteristics of this tradition which serve their power objectives. In the present development phase (still "dependent" development in which few structural reforms have taken place), women too often are considered a pool of labour that for the moment is useless to mobilize and which, therefore, should remain linked to the household and the culture of marginalization.

"Women are the victims, the scapegoat of transition, exposed to the contradictions of modernization and at the same time controlled and repressed by traditional prejudices which are more influential due to the fact that the women, as social subject, cannot have any other protection than the family or the community" (Gentile, A.M., 1980). Legislative reforms are often mere pieces of paper which cannot free the individual from the moral sanction of customs. Women are generally judged in terms of their compliance with tradition and are not supposed to provide any innovative contribution to society. Moreover, while detachment from the objectives of traditional society is an indicator of a man's success which inspires approval, it is considered a negative phenomenon for a woman which should be condemned. The condition of women has been defined as "the litmus paper" that proves the actual sincerity of economic and social policies, especially for those governments that define themselves as progressive. Too often women have taken part in revolutions and wars against colonial powers, just to be sent back to the household immediately after independence.

Efforts for improving the status of women

The UN Decade for Women crystalized many of the ideas developed by WID scholars and gave a framework to the activities of WID advocates to improve the condition of women in developing countries, as women from all over the world worked their way from confused confrontation at Mexico City in 1975 to consensus at Nairobi in 1985.

It was clear from the beginning that in order to improve women's lot, action must be carried out at different levels. First of all, it is necessary that major changes take place within countries, with national governments endorsing new legislation (family, civil and labour law) and improving the educational and health systems. The donors' community can support these changes by providing funds, technical expertise and organizational support.

Two policy instruments, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (FLS) have set precise guidelines, ~~still valid today,~~ for government, non governmental and donors activities at the national, regional and international level. The Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979 and subsequently, has been ratified by over 140 countries. No other Convention, however, has met with so many reservations by the world's governments. A great number of countries have made reservations to Article 2 which demands that national laws, if necessary, be altered to secure women's equal rights. The reservation strongly reduces the Convention's legal and political impact.

The 1985 Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (FLS) were approved by consensus by 157 countries at the Nairobi World Conference. This document was based on earlier declarations and plans of action, including the International Development

Strategy for the Third Development Decade and on CEDAW itself. The Strategies soundly rejected the welfare approach to development cooperation, calling for the integration of women in the development process and addressing women as actors, not just objects in development activities. In paragraph 15, the Strategies stated that "To achieve optimum development of human and material resources, women's strengths and capabilities, including their great contribution to the welfare of families and to the development of society, must be fully acknowledged and valued. The attainment of the goals and objectives of the Decade requires a sharing of this responsibility by men and women and by society as a whole and requires that women play a central role as intellectuals, policy-makers, decision-makers, planners, contributors and beneficiaries of development." The Strategies outlined goals to be achieved by the year 2000 including the elimination of illiteracy, increased life expectancy for women to at least 65, increased opportunities for self-supporting employment and the implementation of laws guaranteeing equality for all women in all spheres of life and give very precise guidelines for reaching these goals.

Among other actions, governments were asked to establish appropriate machinery at the highest level of government to ensure that WID is recognized and integrated in all development policies and programmes and to institutionalize women's issues through the establishment of machinery in all areas/sectors of development. The Strategies stated that national resources should be allocated to promote women's participation and that governments should establish national WID plans and targets and ensure that the machinery in charge of WID has adequate political, financial and technical resources. Women's access to credit, training and extension services was also discussed, as was the compilation of gender-specific statistics and information. Specific areas examined in terms of national policy included: employment; health; education; food; water and agriculture; industry; trade and commercial services; science and technology; communications; housing; community development and transportation; the environment and social services.

The FLS, however, were only morally, not legally, binding. While this policy document has therefore been criticized as not going far enough, it did provide a basis for lobbying governments to change laws and develop new policies. Efforts have been made by many women's organizations to disseminate the Strategies and teach women how to use them. One of the main outcomes of the UN Decade and the four ~~three~~ world conferences in Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980) and Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995), accompanied by the NGO forums, was the opportunity offered to women's organizations to come together, share experiences and expand their networks to include grassroots women's organizations.

Donors' activities

Donor country action in the area of women and development especially in the years since the Nairobi Conference has been substantial. Many Western governments have developed WID policies and plans of action which contain strategies for integrating women into their development programmes and projects; some have gone even farther and now consider women and development as a priority area for development cooperation.

The different donor countries have defined various measures for implementing the WID policy. The first programming strategy was to make women visible both to the professional development community and to the world as a whole. Research was financed and, finally, the realities of women's lives started to be well documented. The second strategy was to initiate field projects and programmes directed specifically to women. Because evidence showed that the development programmes of the two first development decades had not benefitted women as much as men, the WID specific projects were expected to overcome and correct many of the errors of the past. A third strategy was the establishment of WID units and focal points in development assistance agencies and developing country governments. These offices were to become centers for data collection and training, for initiating specific projects and programmes for and with women, and for monitoring the impacts of general development assistance on women's economic activities and status. The staff of the WID units were also responsible for working with the other personnel in their agencies and for providing practical and useful tools for understanding the problems women face, and for integrating women into all the projects and programmes.

After a few years, however, it was clear that these strategies had not produced the hoped for results. WID units were understaffed, underfunded and marginalized from real decision making and policy formulation within agencies and governments. The allocation of special funds for women's projects had too often resulted in small, side-lined activities that reinforced the marginalization of women. "While a focus on women is recognized as legitimate in its own right, and the basis of one of the most important political movements of this century, when translated into professional practice over the last 15 years, it has resulted in the creation of a women's sector, manifest in the creation of WID offices and bureaus and women's projects. For a number of reasons this sector has emerged weak and marginalized from mainstream development policies, programmes and projects." (Levy C., 1991)

Given the disappointing returns from the UN Decade for Women in practical terms and the growing recognition that the gap between men and women was not getting any smaller, there was a shift in the late 1980s to mainstreaming women in development approaches on all levels, from macro-level planning to micro-level projects. A variety of approaches and activities emerged

Gender and development versus women and development

In the years since the Mexico Conference, Women in development has developed into a highly professional field within the social sciences. At the micro level, research showed that development should not stop at the door of the household and uncovered three specific incorrect assumptions about households which are frequently found in development planning. The first assumption is that households in the Third World, like households in Western societies, generally consist of a husband, wife and two children; second, that within the family there exists a clear sexual division of labour with the husband engaged in productive activities to provide the household with income and the wife carrying out the reproductive and domestic tasks; and third, that within the household there is equal control of resources and equal decision making power between men and women. (Moser, 1989).

Women and development research has illustrated that not only are one-third of the world's households headed by women, and up to half in parts of the developing world, but the gender division of labour is far from clear and resource control is far from equal. The multiplicity of female roles, in the productive, reproductive and community spheres, and the relationship between these roles that determines different gender needs, has emerged as an extremely important factor for project planning.

The analysis tools have gradually been refined and become more sophisticated. The concept of gender has been increasingly used to replace women or sex as the object of study. While the word sex refers to the biological differences, the word gender refers to the social relationship between men and women. Gender differences are shaped by ideological, historical, religious, ethnic, economic and cultural determinants. (Moser, 1989). Gender relations therefore differ from place to place and change over time.

While the approach "Women in development " (WID) not only looked at women in isolation, but it also assumed that women were a homogeneous group with the same problems and concerns "Gender and development" (GAD) instead adopts a global approach and looks at society as a whole, recognizing the multiplicity of relations, be they private, social, economic and political, between the two sexes, disaggregates women's and men's roles and responsibilities by socio-economic class, location, etc. and looks at their respective interests and needs and different access to and control of resources. It has been increasingly recognized that gender analysis, which is crucial for understanding production relationships within households and defining who will benefit from interventions, needs to be introduced not only at the design stage of all projects and programmes but in all phases of the project cycle.

Mainstreaming

A very detailed analysis of the uses and evolution of the term "mainstreaming" was undertaken by M. Anderson for UNIFEM. (Anderson, 1993). She notes that mainstreaming has a number of different meanings and uses with some people emphasizing the importance of including women in development planning and specifically the importance of incorporating them into policy making machineries or decision making fora, others stressing the importance of allocating resources to women's activities and issues. For the latter group mainstreaming means ensuring that institutional and programme budgets include significant resources for women. Other interpretations focus on the outcomes of development, using the realization of political and economic benefits to women as their measure of mainstreaming success. M. Anderson concludes that "these various emphases are not mutually exclusive as the underlying thrust of each is the necessity of moving women and their issues closer to the centers of power and of action".

In the UN system, mainstreaming has been interpreted as the strengthening of women's active involvement in development; "interfacing women's capabilities and contributions with macro development issues by drawing on large scale resources for development not previously linked with women. Mainstreaming then took on another connotation: women should enter positions of power and effectiveness and, as they did so, work to shape and alter the systems and institutions of power. The strategies for affecting these changes were referred to as agenda-setting". Despite its focus on integrating women into the whole development process, mainstreaming does not eschew the use of women specific projects in areas where inequality has been particularly pronounced. It is widely recognized that "positive action" is necessary in areas where women have been particularly neglected or in areas which by their nature especially concern women.

There has been some concern among women in both the North and the South that the new emphasis on gender and mainstreaming will obscure issues that impact in a unique way on women and need to be addressed in their specificity. Such issues would include reproductive health, violence against women and, more broadly, empowerment of women. These critics do not advocate a return to WID, but strongly support cohabitation and coordination between the two approaches within international organizations, governments and NGOs, according to the context. This concern has become more and more deep during the process of preparation for the Fourth World Conference on women.

M. Anderson stresses that "mainstreaming is now more often used to refer to a comprehensive strategy, involving both women-oriented programming and integrating women into overall existing programmes, both agenda setting activities and activities to incorporate women into existing mainstream structures."

Instrumental for this shift in theory and practice has been the work of the DAC/WID expert group, which was formed in the early 1980s and has gained momentum and strength over the years. The DAC "Guiding Principles to Aid Agencies for Supporting the Role of Women in Development", adopted in 1983 and revised in 1989, laid the foundation of the WID efforts of DAC members. It is a concise, clear and effective document that recommends to DAC members a series of measures classified under four major categories: (a) mandates, (b) administrative measures, (c) implementation and (d) co-ordination and consultation. Unfortunately, not all DAC member countries have taken it with due seriousness.

The DAC/WID expert group has been an extremely important forum for exchanging experiences, discussing new and controversial issues, assessing mandates and evaluating programmes and projects in order to design policies and formulate new administrative measures and tools. Coordination and collaboration among the WID experts of the different agencies, which has steadily increased over the years, has been invaluable for those countries which are still lagging behind on this issue and whose understaffed WID units are seeking their way with difficulty.

Several measures and specific tools have been tried by the different donors for mainstreaming WID issues into programmes and projects: they range from sector plans to manuals for project design, manuals for the collection of gender disaggregated data, screening mechanisms, checklists and guidelines to gender sensitization and training

What has clearly emerged from the work of the DAC/WID expert group, however, is that, even if individual projects and programmes may have considerable impact for a limited number of people, in view of the enormous amount of problems stemming from under development, and the growing resource gap between the rich and the poor, the project approach provides no final answer, even if it may contribute to strengthening women's concerted ability to define and implement new development agendas.

WID activists both from the North and the South and WID officers in international and bilateral organizations have learned that multiple mainstreaming strategies should be pursued simultaneously and they have learned how to identify synergies among them in order to be more effective. Concerted actions in agenda setting conducted by women during the UN Conferences on environment, ~~and~~ human rights and population have proved successful but at the same time have also confirmed that a WID sector is still very necessary if gender is to become a cross cutting issue in development planning.

Policy approaches to WID/GAD

In the last eighteen years there has been a myriad of programmes and projects aimed at helping poor women in the Third World. These programmes and projects reflect a variety of policy approaches used since the 1950s, paralleling the changes in general development theories from accelerated growth to basic needs, to structural adjustment. C. Moser (1989) has identified five dominant WID policies. The welfare approach dominated aid during the initial years. It consisted primarily of WID specific projects that looked only at the reproductive roles of women, considering them as mothers and wives and as passive recipients of services. By the mid 70s, it was complemented by the equity approach, where the goal was to promote the equal participation of men and women. The means used was that of integrating women in male-oriented projects. The anti-poverty approach was based on the basic needs strategy, which again targeted the poorest strata of society as recipients of benefits in the fields of housing, sanitation or employment. The approach was implemented through women-specific and integrated projects. The efficiency approach was an elaboration of the equity approach with women viewed an important means to achieve project goals. The empowerment approach is the most recent and the least common of the five approaches. It has been primarily promoted by third world feminists in the latter part of the 1980s. It is the most radical and demands changes in political, economic and social structures in order to accommodate women's own definition of their needs. This approach has dominated the NGO Forum in Huairou.

The different approaches have not, however, followed a linear progression and have sometimes even coexisted in the same project in order to maximize benefits.

It is not possible yet to assess how effective all the activities by the different donors, both at the bilateral and multilateral level and by the NGOs, have been in improving the condition of women in developing countries. Many examples of successful projects and programmes have been documented and can be used as a "demonstration" of what could be done. At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that improving the condition of a few, or even many women, does not change the condition of the women in a country.

Measuring gender differences

Since the beginning of the UN Decade for women in 1975, some progress has certainly been made in redressing gender inequalities in developing countries. However stark disparities persist between men's and women's status. Their differential access to resources, control of assets and decision making powers, is now fairly well documented. The "World's Women: Trends and Statistics" published by the UN Statistical office in 1991, "The Human Development Report, 1992" by UNDP, "Women's Health: Across Age and Frontier" by

WHO, 1992, together with studies carried on by private research institutions, women's study centers and independent scholars, provide macro data that clearly document why a gender approach in development policy is needed. BRIDGE, a new service sponsored by some of the DAC members, based at the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Sussex, with the task of preparing briefings on development and gender, has made a very good synthesis of the latest available data. (BRIDGE, undated)

A) Work and incomes

******Women are working more outside the household, often under unfavourable conditions.* According to official estimates, women now constitute 37 per cent of the paid workforce in sub-Saharan Africa, 20 percent in South Asia, 35-40 percent in East and South East Asia, and 30 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean. Increases in women's economic activity rates and share of the labour force have occurred particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean, East and South East Asia and West Asia and North Africa. Much of the expansion in women's work in Latin America is in services; in East, South East and West Asia and North Africa new opportunities are occurring in industry. In sub-Saharan Africa, women's economic activity rates have dropped significantly since 1970 and in South Asia they have dropped slightly in the same period. Women in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia are still largely confined to agricultural work; those who work outside agriculture are three times more likely to work in services than in industry.

**Women everywhere earn less than men, with wages ranging between 50-90 percent of men's pay.* In many countries, wage rates for the same job differ by sex. In addition, women are concentrated in the least skilled and lowest status jobs and receive relatively low wages for this reason. In many regions, women and men now form equal numbers of wage earners, although sub-Saharan Africa is the exception with only 30 per cent of economically active women, compared to 42 percent of economically active men in wage employment. Throughout the 1980s, a deregulation and casualization of wage employment has occurred, leading to job insecurity, loss of fringe benefits and worsening working conditions. Women may be particularly affected by these trends.

**Women are concentrated in low-productivity subsistence agriculture and informal sector work with limited access to credit, extension services or technology.* In sub-Saharan Africa, 78 percent of economically active women are engaged in agricultural work. In South Asia, 62 percent of economically active women work in agriculture. In South East and East Asia and Oceania, the proportion is 50 percent. A high proportion (approximately 40 percent in most regions except Latin America and the Caribbean) of women working in agriculture do so as unpaid family labour. A FAO study showed that in Africa, women make up 80 percent of food producers but receive only 2-10 percent of extension contacts. 53 percent of economically active women in Africa, 26 percent of economically active women in Latin America and the Caribbean and 52 percent of economically active women in South Asia are self employed. Data from Latin America shows that women's earnings in self employment in the informal sector are significantly less than men's. Nevertheless, these earnings are vital for households; a study in Zambia shows that the importance of women's informal sector earnings to total family income increased dramatically in the 1980s.

* *Certain groups of women such as female headed households without external sources of income, especially widows and elderly women, are particularly vulnerable to poverty.* The share of female headed households in developing countries ranges from 20-40 percent and this proportion is thought to be rising in some regions. The vulnerability of these women to poverty is exacerbated by a decline in community support for elderly women under conditions of economic crisis and by the failure or incapacity of governments to provide alternative social support systems. Although there is no strong evidence that women are generally poorer than men, it is harder for women to escape from poverty.

**Women are working longer hours than men.* Prior to 1975, women in Latin America and the Caribbean worked on average three hours less than men per week; recent evidence shows that they work six hours more. In Africa, Asia and the Pacific, women work 12-13 hours a week more than men. They spend correspondingly less time on leisure and sleep. Women work 12-18 hours per day in South Asia and Africa on income-earning activities, food production, childcare, domestic work and fuel and water collection. In Africa, women spend 5-15 hours per week collecting water; in Asia 4-7 hours. Despite their heavy workloads, women are still too often seen by policy makers primarily as a source of voluntary labour for development activities at the community level.

**The pressure of economic crisis and adjustment have also added to the time burden of women.* Cuts in social sector spending with falling real incomes mean that women must economise on household expenditure, often in ways which require more domestic labour. In many developing countries, in the late 1980s, poor women were working 60-90 hours a week to maintain the living standards of the late 1970s.

B) In the field of education

**Overall women get only half of the years of schooling that men do in developing countries.* Thus women obtain lower educational qualifications than men which exacerbates their labour market disadvantage. The gender gap in school enrollment has narrowed considerably in the last 30 years at the primary school level. Slower progress has been made at the secondary and tertiary levels and the gender gap remains wider at these levels. Progress has been particularly limited in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. In the late eighties in sub-Saharan Africa, female primary school enrollment was 82 percent of male enrollment, secondary school enrollment 65 percent of male levels, and tertiary enrollment 33 percent. In Bangladesh, female primary school enrollment is around 70 percent of the male figure, and the female to male ratio of secondary school enrollment is 40 per cent; the corresponding figures for Pakistan are 50 percent and 37 percent. Drop out rates are higher for girls than for boys in the majority of African and Asian countries. In some in sub-Saharan Africa, economic pressures are leading to falls in school enrollment even at the primary level. In eleven out of twenty four sub-Saharan African countries, primary enrollment ratios declined between 1980 and 1986. It may be that girls are bearing a disproportionate burden of these declines in access to schooling, eroding earlier gains.

**There are still more illiterate women than men in every region of the world.* Over 40 percent of young women(20-24 years) are still illiterate in Africa and Southern and Western Asia. The figure rises to 70 percent for women over 25. Illiteracy is particularly serious among rural women.

C) In the field of health

**Unsafe pregnancy and childbirth is the biggest cause of death among women in developing countries.* In sub-Saharan Africa, nearly 1,700 women die in childbirth for every 100,000 live births; in South Asia, the figure is also over six hundred; and in Latin America, 200. Maternal mortality rates in Africa and Southern Asia are over 30 times those of developed regions. 51 percent of pregnant women in Africa and 59 percent in Asia are anaemic, which increases their susceptibility to complications in pregnancy and childbirth. A major contributing factor to these statistics is the lack of trained birth attendants. In sub-Saharan Africa, 62 percent, in South Asia, 74 percent and in South-East Asia, 55 percent of births are not attended by trained attendants.

**In developing countries, growing numbers of women are affected by HIV/AIDS and the infection rate of women is increasing more rapidly than that of men.* In 1990, 2.5 million women were infected with HIV in Africa, 200,000 in Latin America and 200,000 in Asia. One estimate states that, in ten African countries, 6-11 percent of children under 15 will lose their mothers to AIDS in the 1990s.

**Women are now particularly vulnerable to HIV and other STD infection.* Women may resort to selling or exchanging sexual services for economic reasons and in such cases have little power to insist on protection or to refuse sex. A strong association between female poverty and infection with HIV has been found in parts of Africa. Women's risk of HIV and other STD infection is exacerbated by low rates of contraceptive prevalence in some regions. Contraceptive use has increased in all developing regions since the 1960s. However, in Africa and Asia and the Pacific (except East Asia) usage remains low at approximately 15 percent and 35 percent respectively. Rates of usage of barrier methods which offer protection against HIV transmission are even lower.

**Female children are more vulnerable to early death than male children in some regions.* In 43 out of 45 developing countries for which recent data is available, mortality rates for girls aged 1-4 are higher than those of boys. In South Asia and Latin America, girls under 5 receive less medical care than boys. In India and Pakistan, certain groups of girls under 5 receive less food than boys. In Pakistan, 30 percent of girls compared to 40 percent of boys under 2 receive complete immunization and 54.4 girls per 1,000, 2-5 years old, die compared to 36.9 boys.

**Women's physical and emotional health is endangered by high rates of male violence.* Little trend data is available, but violence against women is widespread worldwide. A study by the Indian government showed that crimes against women increased in the 1980s, while conviction for these offences declined and the female suicide rate doubled in India in 1987-8. In Bangladesh, 50 percent of reported murders are wife killings. 80 percent of women in Santiago, Chile, have suffered physical, emotional or sexual abuse by a male partner or relative and 63 percent report current abuse. One of every three women in Peru who visit hospital emergency rooms are victims of domestic violence. In Papua New Guinea, 67 percent of rural women and 56 percent of urban women have been victims of wife abuse, according to a national survey.

D) Political participation

** In all developing regions, parliamentary representation of women increased between 1975 and 1987 but overall representation remains low.* Women make up less than four percent of representatives in many countries in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, though there are several notable exceptions. Worldwide women's representation in Parliament was about 10 percent in 1987. Quotas of women representatives, where they exist, are often not met.

Impact of global economic, political and environmental changes on the situation of women

Aggregate statistics comparing 1970 and 1990 mask the declines experienced in the 1980s. The situation has, in fact, drastically worsened during the last decade, when the world economy, and particularly the developing market economies experienced a very severe and prolonged recession. While most countries in South and East Asia managed to maintain reasonable rates of growth over the period, 70% of the countries in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America experienced negative cumulative growth rates in GDP per capita. Three phenomena had appeared simultaneously: most developing countries' export earnings fell away; the cost of their imports rose and the price of current and outstanding credit to bridge the gap rose.

The economic crisis and the subsequent structural adjustment policies have had particularly grave implications for women. Between 1985 and 1989, "in most developing regions, Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean, economic stagnation or negative growth, continued population increase and the prolonged international debt crisis and adjustment policies designed to deal with this have shaped and constrained the activities of women as individuals, as carers and providers for families and households and as participants in the practical development of their countries." (United Nations,1989). With heavy cuts in government services including health care, child care, family planning and education, some of women's earlier gains have been reversed and women have had to take over additional responsibilities in those areas. In the face of wage freezes, women have to work more hours to keep up with inflation and in tightening credit markets women have even less chance than before to obtain credit.

The world economic crisis and the reorientation of policies to cope with the macroeconomic constraints have been accompanied in recent years by major political, social and environmental changes, which together have had tremendous consequences on rural economies, the wellbeing of families and the capacity of the households to meet the living needs of their members. When dealing with women's issues, consideration must be given to these major changes which have affected and continue to affect third world countries and the constraining and accelerating effect that these changes have had on family structures and choices. The disappearance of a great number of regimes with centrally planned economies has resulted in the dismantling of collectivistic forms of economic organization and has obliged people not to rely on wage work or planned interventions from outside and to find new ways to generate income and food supply for their survival.

The weakening of the political structures that had become more or less stabilized in the 1960s has resulted in a fragmentation along tribal or religious lines which has brought about the rise of much smaller and fragile states and the subsequent eruption of civil wars, with external interventions in some instances. In many instances all out war has caused the total disruption of the family system and a situation in which men enter a militarized society, while women, old people and children form another strata of the population and become refugees or, if they remain in the countryside, the objects of continuous assaults by irregulars. It follows that the whole productive agricultural and animal husbandry system is disrupted and cultivated lands are abandoned while the population starves to the point that some countries become completely dependent upon foreign aid for 100% of their food needs.

The increase in refugee flows together with the phenomenon of migration induced by the economic situation make the demographic pressure in the different parts of the world more traumatic. The consequences of migration can be grouped into two main categories: consequences linked to the absence of the adult males with the assumption of the family responsibilities by the mother, and consequences linked to the reunion of a few family members - generally those of nuclear families - in towns or in foreign countries, the impossibility of the extended family members to remain united, and the collapse of the traditional support system.

Population pressure is strongly linked to another important factor of change in the global system: environmental degradation, due both to phenomena taking place in advanced countries and to the destruction of the rain forest, which are causing climatic alterations. As a consequence of environmental degradation, several regions of the globe have experienced floods, hurricanes and devastating droughts that have caused disruption in the farming systems and forced the exodus of entire families or of some, generally the males, household members.

All of this contributed to an enormous increase in the number of women headed households in developing countries that are not a product of cultural patterns but the result of political turmoil and especially of economic downturns. This phenomenon is evident in all the four regions, Asia, Middle East, Africa and Latin America and in some instances the number of women headed household is quite high with as many as 63% in Botswana and they all face severe constraints and service access problems.

These issues have brought about a change in the policies for development cooperation, with more emphasis being now placed on poverty, population and environmental issues, emergency and rehabilitation aid. It is essential that policy makers and development practitioners understand the effects of macro economic policies and the changes mentioned above on the poor and appreciate the differential impact that such policies have on men and women. Sacrifices required by debt repayments, industrialization schemes or infrastructure investment must not fall disproportionately on the poor, and among them disproportionately on women. Emergency and rehabilitation activities must take into account the different roles and needs of women and men and whenever possible help to redress some of the imbalances between the two genders.

Calling attention to the special relationship of women to the "macro" issues is the focus of an increasing number of new Southern organizations of women, as it has been evident during the NGO Forum and the UN Conference in Beijing. The advancement of women in the future will depend largely on how successful these new organizations are in injecting their insights and energy into politics, debate and policy changes at both the national and the international level. In an increasingly interdependent world, nations must be reminded that they hold power in trust for all their citizens, including women. It is the task of the donors to support financially and technically these women's organizations so that they can have a profound influence not only on the laws and development plans of their governments, but also on the underlying goals and assumptions of the men who hold power and maintain long term contact with the local groups of poor women they are trying to help. As Irene Tinker has underlined, "change is a slow process; without continued political as well as economic support, local groups of poor women who challenge social injustices may well be left worse off than before".

Certainly what women in development (WID) and gender in development (GAD) efforts have succeeded in doing is to unmask some of the donors and recipient countries. They have demonstrated the willingness of a certain government and/or a certain structure to look at development not just in strictly economic terms, as a way to increase exports, for example, but with a real concern for the people. WID and GAD call for equity and for women to be able to control their own lives and to have freedom to organize. Current development models are questioned and the negotiation of development objectives in order not to subordinate the interests of the different components of the population to macro-economic interests are demanded.

WID and GAD implementing measures oblige reluctant experts, who often overvalue their knowledge of development issues and show skepticism at the same time, to look beyond the purely technical aspects of a project and pay specific attention to the beneficiaries. WID and GAD methodologies look at the needs and interests of the people. They continuously pose new questions and call for more research and gender disaggregated data; they ask for compulsory staff training not just as a tool for reaching the project objectives, but as a tool for promoting dignity, strength, and acquiring the capacity to act starting from the analysis of the surrounding environment. How many donor agencies are really willing to undergo the challenges and the problems that the WID and GAD approaches confront them with? How many of the cooperating countries are really ready to adhere to their commitments according to the CEDAW and the FLS and other international commitments, including the Regional Plans of Action and the Platform of Action approved in Beijing?

A missed opportunity

"The experience to date suggests that the objective of integrating women into development cooperation activities was a more ambitious project than initially realised... Much has been learned about how the issues might be conceptualised and pursued, but this knowledge has also led to a greater recognition of their complexity, both at the societal and institutional levels. It is now clear that the pursuit by development cooperation agencies of goals related to women's participation in development will require continued attention and long term strategies" (Joanna Schalkwyk, February 1994).

The fourth UN World Conference: Action for Equality, Development and Peace that took place in Beijing in September 1995, provided the opportunity to evaluate the work done in the last ten years for the implementation of the Nairobi FLS and to address once again the key issues which have been identified as representing a fundamental obstacle to the advancement of the majority of women.

The DAC/WID Group, for instance, carried out a major assessment of:

1) the integration of gender concerns in the work of the DAC itself;
2) the WID efforts of the DAC member donor organizations;
3) WID as a cross cutting issue in development aid evaluation.

Results from these studies are expected to guide the future activities of the DAC on behalf of poor women of Third World countries. They were also expected to provide inputs for the contribution of the donor community for the preparation of the Platform of Action. The Conference on Women and the parallel NGOs Forum, with all the preparatory activities at the national, regional and international level, was in fact a unique opportunity to create the impetus in society for women to move forward and for the donor community, not only to seriously evaluate the work done on behalf of the poor women of Third World countries, but especially to identify new ways of collaborating and find synergies so that cooperation efforts and development aid can bring about the best possible results.

Unfortunately, notwithstanding the goodwill of the WID experts in bilateral organizations, in Beijing there was a refusal by the Western Governments to discuss new and additional resources for the implementation of the Platform of Action. Women in the South have shown clearly that they are ready to ask their governments to be accoutnable, but the gap between the requests of the NGOs, both from the South and the North, and what the Western Governments are willing to give has not been filled.

《Lecture II: Environmental Protection》

Who Made Nature Our Enemy?
An Eco-feminist Analysis

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Who made Nature our Enemy?

(An ecofeminist analysis)

1. Introduction: Why do we ask this question now? Why do women ask this question more than men?

This international exchange has been organised as a follow-up event after the 4 th UN Women's Conference in Beijing, which took place this September. I consider such an exchange all the more necessary, since the media coverage of both the official UN-conference in Beijing and the NGO-Forum at Huairu was so poor and biased - at least in my country - that one could have thought that this conference had been rather on China, on Logistics, on Human Rights and on the Pope than on women. Had it not been for the reports of friends from Germany, India, Pakistan, I would not have known what the issues had been which had been discussed at the NGO-Forum.

I heard from these friends, that neither the impact of ecological destruction nor that of the globalization of the economy on women got adequate attention and space during that conference. This means that the concerns which had been central to women at both UN-conferences in Rio (1992) and in Cairo (1994) were marginalized. Therefore I think it is all the more necessary that we speak about these concerns at this international exchange here at Saitama.

But why are women concerned about ecological destruction today? And are they really concerned more than men - or does their concern have another quality? Or, put differently, do they see a connection between the dominance relationship between humans and nature and that between men and women? Is there a correspondence between aggression against nature in modern industrial society and aggression against women? These are questions asked by ecofeminists everywhere in the world today. They are not academic questions, but questions which emerged among women as a response to a number of ecological catastrophes which happened in the last decades.

The Atombomb on Hiroshima, the melt-down at Three Mile Island, the poisoning of river Rhine by Sandoz, the dioxin poisoning of Soweso, the Minamata disease in Japan, the gas-poisoning of thousands of people at Bhopal, particularly the nuclear catastrophe of Chernobyl are some of these events. But more than these dramatic events it is the ongoing ecological degradation of the natural base of all life on our planet, which has given rise to a fundamental questioning among people regarding the causes of this self-destruction. Particularly after the Chernobyl disaster in April 1986 many women began to question the very foundations and the application of modern science and technology, which, so far, had been celebrated as being capable of solving all problems of mankind. How come that they, at the same time, have to be seen as the causes of destruction of the ecosystems on which all life on earth depends? After Chernobyl many women in my country not only demanded an immediate stop of atomic power plants, they also asked further questions regarding the functioning of our economy and, the prevailing concept of progress and development behind such a paradigm. The reason for this growing criticism and scepticism was not a lofty philosophical concern, but the realisation, that in spite of all the achievements of modern science and technology, in spite of the fact, that it had made life easier in many respects and had, together with the capitalist economy led to an unprecedented growth of material goods, that normal organic life processes were under threat, that this very technology was creating a scarcity of the substances on which all life depends: uncontaminated air, water, food.

Because in patriarchal society women have been made responsible for the immediate production and reproduction of life, for the care of children, of the old and the sick, for the organisation of everyday life, for cleaning up the ruins after wars and for making life go on, women were much more passionately questioning, why nature, on which we all depend, had been turned into an enemy; who was responsible for this "male development" and what would be a way-out of this war against nature and life.

2. Modern Technology is War - Technology

One of the insights which women gained, who protested against the contamination by nuclear power plants after the Chernobyl disaster was the recognition that there is no "peaceful" use of atomic energy, but that this technology is war technology irrespective of whether it is used in nuclear missiles or bombs aimed at an external enemy or whether it is used in our kitchen to cook our food. The more women tried to understand what had gone wrong with the project of industrial society the more it came to light that all so-called "future-technologies": atomic energy, computer-technology and other modern information technology, biotechnology, including gene-technology have their origin in military research which was and is funded by defence ministries.

Brian Easlea, who has tried to trace the origins of the Nuclear Arms race and the motivations of the famous nuclear physicists has shown that these men were not just keen to explore the unknown, as disinterested, objective scientists. They knew pretty well what they were doing and they were even keen that the defence ministries in Germany and in the USA should finance their research. It is well known that the atom bombs were thrown upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the end of World War II, on 8th May 1945. Easlea has demonstrated that the "fathers of the atom bomb" wanted to see, whether their brain child would be as destructive as they had expected it to be. For them, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were a kind of human experiment. Easlea also shows that the phantasies of these men were kind of masculinist birth phantasies. They had agreed that they would telegraph to each other after the explosion. When it was a big explosion, the telegram would say "It is a boy", for a small explosion the message would be: "It is a girl".

One may think that such statements are just accidental and anecdotal; but they do reveal more than just the individual patriarchal phantasies of a few famous scientists. Obviously, the whole project of modern science and technology, developed since the 16th century, is an effort of originally European scientific men to become creators of life themselves, independent from nature and women. But this they could and can achieve only by destroying the living symbioses, the interconnected web of life that binds humans to nature. Only by becoming "fathers' of destruction" can modern scientists create new things: machines.

That this kind of thinking survives even after these men have seen the catastrophes which they had caused, became clear to me when I heard Edward Teller, the "father of the hydrogene bomb", in August 1995 in a TV-interview. He was asked whether he now, 50 years after the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the uncountable suffering it hat brought to people and nature, felt any regret for having developed the atom bomb. Teller, now an old man of over 90, said without hesitating, that it had been necessary to develop the "bomb" in order to have an effective weapon of deterrence. He also said, that the responsibility for throwing the bomb was not his but that of President Roosevelt. He did not show any sign of regret or remorse or even compassion for the victims. The only thing he regretted was that the US-Administration had given up its policy of deterrence.

I am not telling this story to show how "bad" some of these men are who have given the world such destructive technology, but rather to show how indifferent modern science and technology are with regard to their consequences, with regard to the victims. And this insensitivity has also to be developed by people who practise this science and technology. They cannot afford to "feel" with the victims, to show empathy and compassion. Emotionally and intellectually they have to cut themselves off from nature and other creatures around them; they have to place themselves **over** nature as her masters and lords.

Carolyne Merchant has traced the history of this new paradigm of science and technology, particularly in the works of Francis Bacon and Descartes. She has convincingly demonstrated in her book, *The Death of Nature* (1983), that modern natural science, particularly mechanics and physics, are based above all on the destruction and subordination of nature as a living organism - and indeed an organism understood as female - and that at the end of this process nature is considered only as dead raw material. Merchant shows that this new domination over Mother Earth of necessity went hand in hand with violence. Natural discovery and knowledge of nature was linked in particular by Francis Bacon with *power*. And it was he who called for the subordination, suppression, and even torture of nature, to wrest her secrets from her, analogous to the witchhunts which also took place in the 16 th and 17 th centuries. What is more, Bacon was not only the inventor of the new empirical method based on experimentation, he also advised the new heroes of natural science to brush aside all the old taboos without a qualm and to expose them as superstitions with which people had hitherto surrounded Mother Earth, for example, the taboo against driving mines into the womb of Mother Nature in order to get sought-after metals.

What Merchant does not mention, but what we must surely see behind Bacon's witchhunt against Mother Nature, is the fact that these taboos were first, and probably with the least scruple, violated in the countries which the White Man had colonized - South America and the Caribbean. In plundering the gold and silver mines in America, the conquerors no longer needed to worry about those old taboos. Their superiority in weaponry gave themt he power to ignore the old fears that Mother Nature would take her revenge. If we enquire into this source of the power that has, since Bacon, entered into a monogamous, chaste marriage with natural science, we cannot then ignore the violent destruction of the witches and the conquest and pillage of the colonies. Not only can the new relation between Man (= White Man) and Nature be seen as the first experiment, but from it also sprang wonderful new riches (i.e., not based on one's own labour), which the popes, kings, princes, adventurers, and finally the rising bourgeoisie appropriated as the basis on which the natural sciences could finally be erected. Bacon was not only a scientist, he was also a well-paid counsellor of King James of England.

We could simply sit back with this new knowledge and say: there you go, even science is patriarchal . . . (not male, as many say), if the works of these scientists were not threatening the foundations of our life on this planet.

The slogan "Knowledge is power" can only be propagated with impunity because scientists since Bacon, Descartes, and Max Weber have constantly concealed the impure relationship between knowledge and violence or force (in the form of state and military power, for example) by defining science as the sphere of a pure search for truth. Thus, they lifted it out of the sphere of politics, that is, the sphere of force and power. The separation of politics (power) and science which we feminists attack is based on a lie. It does not exist and it has never existed, that value-free, disinterested pure science, only devoted to the infinite search for truth, which is legally protected as scientific freedom in our constitutions. Even those scientists who only want to satisfy their presumably irresistible urge for pure knowledge cannot do so unless such basic research is funded. And it is not difficult to identify militaristic, political, and economic interests behind this funding of fundamental research (Easlea, 1986).

But also the epistemology of the new scientific method is based on violence. Without violently disrupting the organic whole called Mother Nature, without separating the research objects by force from their symbiotic context and isolating them in the laboratory, without dissecting them - analysing them - into ever smaller bits and pieces in order to discover the secret of matter (atomic research) or the secret of life (biotechnology), the new scientists cannot gain knowledge. They cannot, it seems, understand nature and natural phenomena if they leave them intact within their given environment. Violence and force are therefore intrinsic methodological principles of the modern reductionist concept of science and knowledge. They are not, as if often assumed, ethical questions which arise only on *the application of the results* of this science. They belong to the epistemological foundations of modern science. But in order to be able to do violence to Mother Nature and other sister beings on earth, *homo scientificus* had to set himself apart from, or rather above, nature. A concept of the human being had to be developed in which his own symbiosis with nature and with the women who gave birth to him, and with women in general, had to be negated. The modern scientist is the man who presumably creates nature as well as himself out of his brain power. He is the new god, the culture hero of European civilization. In the centuries following Bacon, this disruption of symbiosis between the human being, Mother Nature, and the human mother became synonymous with the progress and the processes of emancipation. This, in my view, is the link between the new scientific method, the new capitalist economy, and the new democratic politics. Without turning a reciprocal, symbiotic relationship between humans and nature into a one-sided, master-and-servant relationship, the bourgeois revolutions would not have been possible. Without turing foreign peoples and their lands into colonies for White Man, the capitalist economy could not have risen as master and lord over nature and women.

3. The War Against Nature Outside: From Hiroshima to Chernobyl.

The following is an account which I wrote in 1986, shortly after the Chernobyl catastrophe. It was first published in a book with the title "Chernobyl has changed our life".

Spring at last! Everything is green, flowers everywhere, it is warmer! After a long and depressing Winter people long to get out of their houses, to breathe freely and enjoy nature. But everywhere there are invisible signboards which warn: `Don't touch me, I am contaminated!´ We can enjoy the trees, the flowers, the grass only as voyeurs, as if nature was a TV-show. We cannot touch nature, we cannot communicate with nature as living natural creatures; an invisible barrier separates us. Children and many women experience this sudden separation from nature as a deep, almost physical pain. They feel a sense of deprivation, of loss. This barrier between themselves and the rest of the natural world seems to undermine their own life energy.

I met women in April 1986 who felt that Chernobyl hat destroyed their *joie de vivre*, as if radioactivity had already penetrated and broken their bodies. They reported not only depressions but also feeling sick; to look at children and the glorious spring made their stomachs turn and ache. Why go on? I had similar feelings when I had face to my students. What was their future? What was the use of teaching and preparing them for a future profession? The physical radioactive contamination had turned into a psychic contamination.

And yet women continued to live, to shop, clean, cook, go to their workplace, water the flowers, as they had always done. After Chernobyl, this meant more work, more care, more worries, similar to life in times of war. While the propagators of atomic energy, the scientists, politicians and economists still maintain that atomic energy is necessary to maintain our standard of living, women must worry where to get uncontaminated food for their family, their children. It is women who began to realize that this 'standard of living' had already been swept away. Can they still buy lettuce? Milk is dangerous, so are yoghurt and cheese; meat is contaminated. What to cook and to eat? Women began to search for cereals or milkpowder from the years before Chernobyl, or to look for imported food, from the USA or the 'Third World'.

It was women who had to keep small children indoors, keep them occupied, pacify them. Those advocates of nuclear technology - and those responsible for the Chernobyl-disaster - the scientists and the politicians, simply decreed: 'Don't allow children to play in the sand!'

And what of pregnant women? What were their fears, their anxieties? How did they cope? Many asked their doctors if it was 'safe' to continue their pregnancy. Many felt isolated with their fears of perhaps giving birth to a handicapped child. Many others miscarried, without clearly being able to connect this to Chernobyl.

Women, both in the Soviet Union and in the West, felt responsible for life. Not the men in science, politics, and economics, who are usually called the 'responsible' ones. It is the women who are afraid of contaminating their families, not their men. Women, not the politicians or scientists, feel guilty if they are unable to get uncontaminated food. As a woman from Moscow put it in May 1986: 'Men do not think of life, they only want to conquer nature and the enemy, whatever the costs may be!' (*Die Tageszeitung,* 12.5.1986). Men seem to be experts for technology, women for life, men make war, women are supposed to restore life after the wars. Can this division of labour be upheld after Chernobyl?

Some lessons -from Hiroshima and Chernobyl

This year we remember that 50 years ago the first atomb bombs were thrown on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Next year will be the tenth anniversary of the melt-down of the chernobyl atomic power plant. What lessons are to be learned from these events?

1. Chernobyl made clear that there is no 'peaceful' use of atomic energy. Atomic energy is war technology not only when used in war, as in Hiroshima, but in its methodology. Modern science means, as Caroly Merchant has shown, warfare against nature. Nature ist the - female - enemy which must be forced into man's service. Wars against enemies outside become eventually wars against aourselves.

2. Industrial catastrophes like Chernobyl may happen far away, but their effects do not recognize political borders. Therefore, geographical distance is no longer a guarantee for safety.

3. What modern machine-men do to nature will eventually be felt by all; everything is connected. 'Unlimited Progress' is a dangerous myth because it suggests that we can rape and destroy living nature, of which we are an integral part, without ourselves suffering the effects. The same is true for the dogma of permanent economic growth. As White Man has for centuries treated nature like an enemy it seems that now nature is hostile to us.

4. Confidence in the ruling men in politics, the economy and science is dangerous, above all because neither economy nor science is based on principles of ethics. It is well-known that many scientists are prepared to do research which is morally questionable because it is paid for; in the US 60 per cent of scientists do research paid for by the Pentagon. Even scientists who warn of the danger of nuclear energy and genetic engineering still distinguish between 'value-free' 'pure' research and applied research. At a public discussion on gene technology in Germany one of the leading researchers in genetic engineering, when asked where he saw the limits of scientific research said: "I do not see such limits. In order to know whether certain technologies are dangerous we must first develop and apply them. Only then can the public decide, following democratic principles, whether these technologies should be used." This means, in order to know the dangers of atomic energy, the atom bomb must be made and exploded first. Ethics and morality should have a say only after the research has been done, when the question arises whether or not it should be applied. But the final decision is left to the politicians. These, on the other hand, turn again to the scientists for guidance and expertise when they have to make difficult ethical decisions like fixing the permissible limits of contamination. In reality, both the scientists and the politicians are dependent on those who have the money to finance a certain technology and who want to promote it for the sake of profit.

5. After Chernobyl the reactions of some of the leading men in science and politics were extraordinary. Those who, for years, had assured us repeatedly that nuclear energy was safe, that the scientists had everything under their control, that their safety measurements were correct, in 1986 told the public that the figures shown on their Geiger-counter - 200, 500, or even 2.000 bequerel - were not dangerous, there was no need to panic. Both scientists and politicians minimized the danger, in spite of the high level of radioactivity measured by their accurate machines. Instead of 'believing' their apparatuses they told the housewives to 'wash lettuce', to 'keep the children at home', to 'wash their shoes'. And the wife of Chancellor Kohl appeared on TV, buying and preparing lettuce, in order to show people that even the Chancellor's family did not believe the evidence of the high rates of radioactivity revealed by the Geiger-counters. Suddenly science with its statistics and precise measurements was no longer believed. The public relations managers tried to pacify the people by showing public salad-eating performances on TV by some scientists and politicians. Christel Neusüss observed that science now had turned into magic (Neusüss 1986).

6. Chernobyl taught us the lesson that it is not those who demand an immediate opting out of nuclear energy who push us back 'into the Stone Age' but rather those who propagate this technology in the name of progress and civilization. They are, as became evident in the months after Chernobyl, the 'fathers of want' not those who have warned against this 'progress'. They are responsible for the fact that in the midst of abundant commodities there is a lack of simple necessities of life: of green vegetables, of clean water or milk for children.

Modern industry and technology are often legitimized by the argument that it would take too long to change social relations and to develop an alternative to the prevailing scientific paradigm based on a different relationship of human beings to nature; people want short term, 'pragmatic' solutions or technological fixes. Chernobyl, on the other hand, forced us to think in other time dimensions. We hat no time to form a different relationship to nature. We now have to wait for 30 years till cesium-137 loses half of its radioactivity, the half life of plutonium is 24.000 years; that of strontium-90, 28 years.

The ruin of Chernobyl contaminated the surrounding area for many years to come, causing disease, death and despair for many people. These time dimensions are the outcome of technical solutions propagated by the 'realists', the 'pragmatists', of those who favour quick results. If we reflect on these time dimensions we should at last ask the really important questions now. And we should no longer leave the questions of survival to those experts in politics, science and the economy. It is time to demand an immediate end to nuclear power plants, and to begin to establish a new benevolent and reciprocal relationship with nature. It is time to end the warfare against nature, it is time that nature is no longer seen and treated as our enemy, but as a living entity, of which we are an integral part.

4. The War Against Nature Within: Gene- and Reproductive-Technology and Anti-Pregnancy Vaccines.

If violence towards nature is a necessary precondition for the gaining of knowledge, then the question immediately arises: Where do you draw the boundary? Where do you make the cut between the external and the internal nature, where is the dividing line between subject and object? Are only humans subjects and all non-humans objects. Moreover, as modern biotechnology, particularly reproductive and gene-technology have invaded the human body, the question now arises, which part of the human person are the subject and which are objects?

Till recently the human person, the individual, as a whole had been protected from violent invasions and from being used as a mere object for research and the market. But reproductive and gene-technology are breaking down the boundary which so far had existed between external and internal nature, between object and subject, and even between species. As the methodology of modern reductionist science is based on the violent disruption and dissection of symbiotic relationships, this scientific war has now also entered the human body, particularly women's bodies. Women are not only the guinea-pigs for reproductive research, they and their reproductive organs and processes are divided up and defined as "reproductive components" - like the building blocks of a computer. Once this technology is allowed access to the female body, it is difficult to answer the ethical question, which part of the woman is the subject and which the object. The scientists solve this ethical dilemma by simply creating new boundaries or formulating new definitions of what is human or non-human.

One example of this violence of definitions is the position taken by the Australian bioethicists Helga Kuhse and Peter Singer with regard to embryo research. Kuhse and Singer in order to solve this moral dilemma, draw a line between a member of the species *homo sapiens* and the human person. For them, an embryo of two weeks is not a person but just a "lettuce":

> What about the human embryo, then? Quite clearly, it is a member of species *homo sapiens*, but it does not have any of the qualities distinctive of a person: it

> is not a self-aware, autonomous rational being: it has not nervous system, no brain - it cannot experience anything at all. In lacking any capacity for experience, it is much more like a lettuce than a person or even a laboratory mouse or rat (Kuhse & Singer, 1986, p.15).

It is clear that for Kuhse and Singer an embryo of two weeks is not a "subject that needs to be taken into account" (Kuhse & Singer, 1986 p. 19); therefore not only should research be allowed, but spare embryos could be thrown away or artificially aborted. They therefore advocate to extend the time limit for embryo research well beyond the 14 days currently set by the Warnock Committee and by the Waller Committee in Australia (Kuhse & Singer, 1986, p.21). They nowhere mention that an embryo is part and parcel of a woman, that it cannot live outside the symbiosis with the woman. The first division, therefore, is that of embryo and woman.

For the bioethicists, the problem arising with gene and reproductive technology is *just* a question of definitions. The violence of the scientist is mainly the power of definition. We should remember that it is precisely this power of definition of what is human and what is non-human that broke down the moral barriers for those scientists who did their research on people in Nazi concentration camps, particularly on mentally handicapped people. The definitions of personhood given by Kuhse and Singer (rational, self-aware, autonomous, etc.) are totally open to the manipulations of power because it is a question of power who is defined as human or non-human. Here we may remember that for a long time women also were not considered as rational, self-aware, or autonomous.

Further examples of the *War against Nature Within* can be found if one studies what is happening in scientific laboratories in the context of **population control**. Not only are women of the poorest classes of the poorest nations identified as the main **"target"** by the population controllers and the respective scientists, not only is the whole language of this discourse on population borrowed from the military, the methods themselves are such, that the aim of fighting fertility in undesired populations can only be achieved through coercion and at the risk of violent side effects.

As one example this war against (female) nature within, I want to share with you the information on the newly developed **anti-pregnancy vaccine**. If one looks at the development of various contraceptives in the last twenty years one can easily see a trend from women-controlled contraceptives (the pill, the diaphragm, JUDs) to provider-controlled ones like hormonal injections (Depoprovera, Net-En, Norplant). The latter are justified by the population controllers by saying that poor, illiterate Third World women cannot handle the complicated regime of the pill, for instance. The latest of these inventions, which totally take control away from the individual women, is the anti-pregnancy vaccine, which has been developed and is being tested by Dr. Talwar in India. This anti-pregnancy vaccine is being promoted by the WHO, who thinks it is an ideal contraceptive, particularly for Third World women.

What in our context is interesting about this anti-pregnancy vaccine is not only the definition of fertility as a **disease**, or even as an **epidemic**, but also that the female immune-system is being mobilized to fight against its own hormones. Immunological contraceptives are supposed to block the pregnancy hormone HCG (human choringonadotropin). Shortly after conception the female body produces this hormone, its task is to prepare the uterus for the nidation of the fertilized egg. If this hormone is blocked by anti-bodies, by a vaccine, the fertilized egg cannot fix itself in the uterus (Richter 1994, P. 163-166).

The anti-pregnancy vaccine thus treats a normal, healthy process in the female body as a disease, attacks the hormones necessary for reproduction as an "enemy" and neutralizes them. The war is on between a healthy part of the woman and her own immune system. Although the possible side effects of this war against nature within are not known this "weapon" against fertility, is justified by Dr. Talwar who said, that the fight against population growth is "something like a War" (Deepa Dhanraj). This war is fought not only by rich nations against poor ones, rich classes against poor ones, scientists against women, but it is now also going on in women themselves, particularly in poor women of the South, who by such a vaccine are robbed of their right to bodily integrity and the human right to self-determination. Once the vaccine is in the body, it cannot be removed.

Feminist health activists are mobilizing against these immunological contraceptives because of possible side effects, because women have no control over the vaccine, but also because immunological contraceptives mobilize the immune system against structures and substances of a healthy body, hormones, egg-cells, sperma, the early embryo. Another fear of the feminists is, that a vaccine can easily be used by the state to sterilize whole populations without their knowing, for instance if it is combined with other vaccines. For us it is important to understand that this war against nature within is the logical consequence of the war against nature outside.

5. Globalization of the Economy and War Against Nature.

Can we now say that this war against nature - nature without and within - is our eternal human destiny, as some social biologists believe, or that it is the destiny of the human male, as some feminists believe? By no means. Neither humans as such nor men as such are condemned by our anatomy to destroy the very foundations of life. Ecofeminists like Susan Griffin, Carolyn Merchant, Vandana Shiva, myself and others have pointed out that the world view, that man is separated from and above nature emerged together with European colonialism. 500 years ago, together with the war against women in the witch-hunts in Europe, together with the war against nature in the rise of modern science and technology.

This interlinked processes however, would not be understood properly, if they were not seen in the context of the emerging new economy which we call **capitalist patriarchy**. This economy was and is based on colonizing nature, women and foreign lands. It is a global or world-economy right from its beginnings. It is my thesis that only in such a colonial, global economy people can afford to treat nature as an enemy, to exploit her, plunder her, disrupt all symbioses, and dominate her. The war-metaphor has to be taken literally. This economy and its accompanying paradigm is based on **conquest** of ever newer territories of our globe, and today of areas of reality. In an economy based on conquest - that is also where our concept of progress stems from - people have no interest to preserve, to care for the sustainability of their basis of life. If they have plundered one area they move on to conquer another "frontier". An economy based on the **oikos**, the home, the household, the own land, has by necessity to be conservationist and ecological. The secret of the success of the capitalist economy is neither the market - there have been subsistence market before - nor its superior productivity, but **violence** against nature, women, foreign lands. Only in such a context of permanent conquest can a concept of "permanent growth" emerge. In nature and in the oikos - from where our word oikonomia stems - everything that grows also dies. "Permanent growth" is inconceivable in a limited region or on a limited globe. And Marilyn Waring has shown that the indicator for economic growth, namely the GNP, was developed by British economists only in World War II. They wanted to find out whether war was good for the economy. And they found it was (Waring 1989). That this war logic is inherent to the capitalist economy was not only evident during the Gulf War, but is again demonstrated by the French government's nuclear tests in the Pacific. These tests are justified by a fictive enemy, but at home in France they are also seen as necessary to create jobs. War-industries in the North are increasingly legitimized by the job-argument.

The globalization of the capitalist economy went through three stages, the first being the colonial period proper. The second stage started in the early seventies, with the relocation of whole industries - like electronics, textiles, toys etc. - into so called cheap-labour countries in South-East-Asia. The third stage is the one we experience now. It is being promoted by the TNCs, global institutions like the World Bank / IFM, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) which in January 1995 was transformed into the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Whereas in the first stage the main concern was simply extraction of **raw material** from the colonies for the industrialization of the North, the second stage concentrated on the exploitation of **cheap labour**, the third, present stage has **trade** as its key-concept, and with it goes the appropriation, industrialization and commodification of **biological life** on earth, of **biodiversity** by giant transnational corporations. This commodification and monopolization is made possible on the one hand through bio- and gene-technology, on the other through the instruments created by the WTO, above all the "Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights" (TRIPs). Vandana Shiva points out, that by prefixing "trade related" to any object or process or knowledge, they can be taken away from people who need and produce them for their sustenance, and they can be appropriated, commodified and monopolized by private interests like gene-firms. She stresses that colonialism and violence appears in the form of trade today. And this violence not only destroys nature but it also robs women, particularly poor women, but also poor men in the South of the base of their independent livelihoods (Shiva 1995).

That the violence against nature, e.g. in the form of forest destruction by international logging firms has direct consequences for women's lives and bodies has also been shown by Usher (1992). She traces the "development"-path from destruction of the Thai forests, through the migration of young women to cities like Bangkok and the sex-industry there, to AIDs which has now effected also the "respectable" women, whose husbands are customers of AIDs-infected prostitutes. AIDs, like atomic contamination cannot be contained within national boundaries or "decent classes". This is the lesson we all have to learn these days: What we do to nature, we do to ourselves. Because neither men nor women are **above** nature. We are part of her: we cannot exist outside her.

That is why Vandana Shiva stresses the need for feminists to broaden their perspective which means going beyond the domestic sphere and including a critical assessment of today's global trade, organised by WTO, World Bank and IMF.(Shiva 1995: 38-39). We have not only to demand an end to violence against **women**, which was and is a key theme of the women's movement, but also an end to violence against nature and other peoples.

To realize these demands, however, we have to reclaim control over local resources and local economies. Not globalization and megatechnologies are the solution but localization, responsibility of people who reclaim the areas of ethics, ecology and equity that have been subsumed under trade by the prefix "trade related" (Shiva 1995: 39).

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【MEMO】

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《Lecture II: Environmental Protection》

Who Made Nature Our Enemy?
An Eco-feminist Analysis

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Paradoxes in Education and Life Chances: Access, Content and Opportunity in Women's Lives in Japan and America

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One of the paradoxes of education is that we all operate on the principle that education works, and that the more people are exposed to it, the better our societies will be, and the better the lives of individuals. But there is a certain circularity in the relationship between education and the improvement of people's lives, which may frustrate chances for success. Without education, the arguments go, individuals and societies cannot advance, and at a certain level this is true, but as we well know, education itself tends to follow, not lead, such advances in most of the world. I would like to argue that education can only be effective if other positive influences are in place. This may be especially true in America and Japan, where the rhetoric of educational opportunity for women has not always been matched with the reality of outcomes. Let me try to get behind the abstractions of the title of this talk, to bring it down to the complicated ambiguities of education and opportunity in women's lives in more concrete terms.

The circularity of the arguments for change is related to the fact that education, however elevated in the rhetoric of development, is rarely actually empowered, rarely given the means to fulfill the promise it contains. In other words, again, other factors besides education affect women and perhaps may be stronger than the education effect. This problem is not restricted to less advantaged societies, for it is evident that there is a significant education gap between elites and non-elites in so called advanced societies, and however much other ills have been traced to this gap, there is still a low priority given to its elimination. The circularity also is related to philosophic issues -- one example is the thwarted efforts for progressive educational reform in America, and the return to rigid moralities in the midst of attempts to diversify schooling, even though the nurturing of individualism is said to be embodied in our curriculum. In Japan, where rhetoric exalts the relationship between learning and individual and social success, practise tracks young people early by a narrow definition of their potential. It may not be education alone, however, that is the key variable in this success, even if, occasionally, education allows some individuals some access to the other contributors to the good life.

The paradoxes and dilemmas of women's education and outcomes in America and Japan are interesting, particularly as they illuminate this gap between the tatemae and the honne of educational privilege, public priorities and official ideology. I would like to suggest that the same issues affect women in Japan, but that change may come from a different configuration of social questions and public concerns -- in fact, as I will describe, due to unprecedented demographic and socioeconomic conditions, women are seen as pivotal in Japan's future, and may be able to use this demographic leverage to good advantage. In other words, education may be at least temporarily less of an issue, less effective in improving women's lot than other social changes. First, let's see how women are affected by education, as I do not mean to eliminate it as a variable in women's life chances, by any means. I only want to complicate the issue.

There can be seen three elements of development in women's education, three features of modern educational systems which have been seen to benefit women throughout the world: these are, access, content and opportunity. The first attends to access to schooling, basic enrollment and attendance, and this most fundamental priority was concerned primarily with equality between males and females. The second is the attention to content, how the curriculum serves the practical needs of individuals and society. The third is about the opportunities education provides, and here choices and options were emphasized, as well as of course equality.

However we must look at other factors -- socioeconomic, demographic, historical and political. It goes without saying that where education does count in promoting life chances, and the stronger the link between status and degree, the more you see women selected out or separately tracked in education, whatever the rhetoric, and non-structural discrimination is quite insidious.

I have been asked to look at Japan and America in terms of where we are in these educational priorities as they affect women. I'd like to suggest that in both societies, at least officially, women are offered a reasonable degree of access, and that content and quality, for better or worse, are reasonably distributed, though in the case of Japanese higher education, we still see gender typing in the kind of education women and men receive. In terms of the third, we are both -- to put it optimistically (or euphemistically) -- in a state of transition, as we still see women lagging behind men in the workplace, even with the same educational credentials.

In both countries, there are strong intervening influences such as class, culture and economic conditions, which affect everyone but where there are differences, women are MORE different. We now see that where there is poverty, women experience it more harshly than men, where there are limits on employment, women are more limited, where a conservative cultural bias hampers individual freedom and self-fulfillment, it hampers women more.

Let's get to some cases. In an American public high school, one in the middle of the academic community of Cambridge Massachusetts, surrounded literally by the ivy covered buildings of Harvard University, there is a comfortable suite of rooms, with sofas and arm chairs, carpeting and bright pictures on the walls. There are also cribs, changing tables, and boxes of toys and blocks.

This is not a special lab classroom for studying child psychology: it is a real life daycare center within the high school, for the babies and small children of the high schoolers themselves. When I once took a Japanese educator to visit this school, he was quite surprised to see these teenagers breast feeding their babies between classrooms here. He wasn't shocked that they had babies; he was impressed that the school provided such facilities for them, just to keep the mothers in school. He said Japanese schools would not have them.

But this scene is not only evidence of accommodation to changing sexual and family practises among young people; it is also evidence that there is no other way the needs could be met. In order to fight against the increasing gap in American society, the great divide between privileged and disadvantaged, and in this case the double negative of poverty and gender, schools in America have become safety nets, the last recourse for children who receive hot breakfasts, health care and drug counselling, as well as the attentions of school psychologists and other kinds of interventions not part of a traditional educational program. All children go to school, and thus schools are the institutions through which to approach most children -- for things like immunizations, AIDS education, checking for cases of child abuse or neglect, as well as treatinga learning disabilities and psychological disorders. It is natural for them to become social service centers for children -- especially as the rate of children living in poverty conditions reaches one in four in America. Teachers act as an early warning system, and act as social workers too, looking for such problems among their charges. And this is at ordinary schools.

The teenage girls with their babies, cheerful enough and for the most part determined to finish high school and improve their life chances, are also fighting an uphill battle in the context of scarce resources: These girls are in school, it is true, but school cannot ultimately provide for them what they will need to be successful in society's terms. The feminization of poverty has long been evident in America -- but it was previously an adult, indeed an elderly, problem -- but now it is the young women, who fail to receive the benefits of opportunity. While the fathers of these babies are rarely occupied with their care, they too may be unable to break the cycle of poverty and may also be unable to use their schooling as a credential or self-enhancement of any kind. This program can't make up for the conditions which led to the need for it, but it shows the school's sense of responsibility for the girls -- and I should add, there is the occasional young father in the day care center, playing with his young child too. Schools have thus become remedial backstops rather than anticipatory solutions for social concerns, and can scarcely make up for other influences in young women's lives.

In Japan, schools' functions are more narrowly defined, of course, but here too, access, content and opportunity are problematic in education, especially as education provides a ladder to the job market. A fourteen year old girl, highly successful in school and eager to win a place at a prestigious coeducational university, is told she must stop her juku lessons as her working class family can't afford to pay for such exam preparation lessons for both her and her brother. She goes to work after school instead. A teacher tells another girl she'd be better off applying to two-year women's junior colleges since a four-year school might overqualify her for marriage. And a manager tells a college graduate that her refusal to pour tea for fellow workers has created an unpleasant atmosphere in the office, forcing him to ask for her resignation, and, isn't it about time she thought of marriage anyway? The laws ensuring equal education and employment for males and females can't easily address these influences on a young woman's life chances. And discrimination in the labor market acts to discourage women from seeking higher educational credentials; it depresses their aspirations.

Socioeconomic factors appear to guide life chances in both America and Japan, but another cause of the education gap in Japan is attitudinal and structural: a persistence of gender typing in family, school and workplace and limited career employment potential in spite of the existence of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. Even among elite families in Japan, the educational career of a woman may be circumscribed, protracted or cut short. A Harvard PhD candidate from Japan, in America with her husband, was called back to Japan to live with her mother-in-law leaving her husband working in the States, while she cared for his mother. His sister, living near the mother, had a child to care for, and her fulfillment of this "woman's role" exempted her from these filial duties and outweighed the graduate student's career plans: she had no choice but to suspend her program. Another graduate student, pressured by her family to have a baby before she turned thirty, was told she was unwomanly to pursue a degree.

These anecdotal incidents will not surprise or shock you, they resemble many you will have heard in the past, and they still may not be representative of all young women seeking success and fulfillment through education. Indeed, women have believed, or have been told to believe, that there are alternate sources of social value, that women's "virtue" and power lies in the domestic sphere, where they have autonomous authority and responsibility for the success of the next generation. The ryosai kembo notion of good womanhood is anachronistically maintained through policy and official rhetoric, though the legal manifestation of women's roles and capacities appears to deny this.

There are now some echoes of the official rhetoric of the late Meiji Period, when, just as they were entering the industrial labor force in large numbers, women were exhorted to maintain a virtuous domestic identity. In fact, the Meiji Civil Code of 1898 in fact may have represented a conservative backlash as far as women were concerned. But there are now interesting changes on the horizon, and as I suggested earlier, there is another split, another schizophrenic set of images of women appearing.

I would here like to talk about some other influences, stronger than education in my view. Current debates in Japan highlight this dichotomy between women's aspirations and opportunities, and show that the good wife, wise mother image of women is still alive and well in political rhetoric -- as seen from the point of view of demographics and social change. This is a very interesting moment in the social construction of Japan in the twenty-first century, a somewhat heated and contentious construction implicating women as pivotal in determining the direction (indeed, the survival) of Japanese society.

The educated young woman today is seen by some as a threat to Japan's future: given her background and apparent aspirations, she is choosing to work longer, marry later, and delay and reduce her childrearing years, by having one or no children. Some politicians have called this a "birth strike" by women, who, they say, are selfishly declining to contribute their reproductive power to society. From 1.57 to 1.46 births per woman (now slightly increased to 1.5) the rate has plummeted, producing a "shock" to the system. Even taxi drivers can tell you the birthrate of the day, rather like a weather forecast. But this is not all women are accused of: they are also said to be avoiding the duty of caring for the elderly, traditionally part of the role of the daughter-in-law or daughter, a role which will be greatly amplified as the rate of the elderly in the population rises to over twenty per cent and as there is a concomitant rise in the rate of netakiri, or bedridden, helpless elderly as longevity increases, making the task of home care that more difficult.

If women were to stay out of higher education and reduce their years in the work force, however, they would also negatively affect these institutions, already suffering from declining enrollments. Doomsayers say that the longterm outcome of future population loss will be declining productivity and/or a rise in the numbers of foreign workers, whose presence has already made officials nervous about Japan's ability to work as a multicultural society. This is all women's fault!

Many women counter with a very different picture, however. They say that the high cost of raising children has led them to seek better educational credentials, to work longer, in order to be able to afford children at all, and that relying on working women to raise families and care for the elderly, the so-called Asian Family Welfare Model, places too big a burden on them -- it is THEY who must be Japan's welfare "system" after all. And of course, in the overheated educational system, women contribute as home coaches in the high parental investment in Japan's human capital investment system.

Higher education has been seen to prepare women with good marriage credentials. But this kind of capital is limited to the marriage market and so young women invest in things like flower arrangement classes: one said, "a tea ceremony certificate is like a medal; the more medals you have the better husband you get".

They might be better managers of households, better coaches for their children's academic activities, but there is still limited involvement in empowering, change making fields such as engineering, medicine and environmental studies. Even elite education does not necessarily guarantee entry into high paying work, or advancement on the seniority scale. What Americans called the "Mommy track" among career women seems to be evident in Japan too, as managers, and the women themselves, feel that women who place priority on family are not "serious" workers and that a choice must be made between domestic and career roles. Those higher degrees from prestigious schools are credentials useful more for marriage than for career, for most young women.

And there are new thoughts about the nature of work itself, initiated by women disaffected by the male model of work. Those who have already spent years accumulating merit and credibility in their workplaces are now questioning whether their efforts were worthwhile, and whether, in fact, anyone's work, men's or women's, is worth the struggle, the long hours, the sacrifice of family. They are beginning to ask if the nature of work in Japan shouldn't be changed, whether the corporate warrior model isn't anachronistic, personally unfulfilling, and dangerous to families and society. One Japanese woman said, "My husband's world is only as big as the top of his desk; that's not the world I want."

This is different from the case of most of the young women in America who seek work in a major company, bank or university and appear to accept the premises of a "unisex" (male) role in such institutions. Such elite young women put their family goals behind their career goals, and hope not to be seen as "Mommy track" candidates.

This is a recent development, however. In my generation of educated women in America, few of us knew what our college degrees were good for, or even what we wanted out of them, often even those pursuing a PhD weren't completely sure what it was for. In my university class, women were still hoping for an engagement ring by April of their senior year, and marriage soon after the June graduation. If we did go on to graduate school, we were likely to be told to choose a field which was consonant with family responsibilities: as someone told me when my first baby was born and I applied for graduate school in anthropology, "You can't be Margaret Mead; go into literature instead, something you can always read by the fireside". (I did, for a while....) Things seem to have changed. In my experience now as a college professor, I find young women, at least as much as men, asking me in their freshman year what major would be best to choose to pursue a career in investment banking or politics, and of course, how the study of Japan will enhance their resumes!

But here, in both countries, we have been mostly speaking of women with advantages, women with families able to support them in seeking higher education, women with incentive and ability. We are not speaking of the women who are coping with poverty, marginality, and family responsibilities. In looking for a way to make sense of issues of access, content and opportunity, you quickly realize that all three are affected by social class -- even in Japan, where, we are taught, everyone is middle class.

Americans and Japanese believe we live in societies called "meritocracies", in which effort and ability yield success. But it is hard to get to the threshhold level at which effort and ability kick in to give a person the edge, for advancement is increasingly ascribed, not achieved, in both the U.S. and Japan. In pre-modern times, children's life chances were determined at birth by the status and resources of their families, and upward mobility by individual merit was rare. And of course, in America and Japan, premodern concepts of learning too were in any case gender driven, and ascription by gender was unquestioned. Rarely could a person get past the conditions of their birth and gender.

Have we changed that much? Elite credentials are hard to achieve, in either society. Admissions directors at elite universities in America talk about wanting the unusual person with a different point of view, a different passion or hobby, but "unusual" or "off-beat" only counts in the top group who have already had the advantages to make their difference an enhancement rather than a handicap. Students from expensive prep schools have an advantage, students whose ancestors went to the same university have a special track in as what are called "legacy" recruits. (I should add that women also count as legacies if they have family members who have gone to the university in question) Thus the so-called education effect only kicks in to work for those who are for the most part already privileged among women, and then only if social and attitudinal influences permit.

The young women caring for their babies between classes at the high school day care center are being offered school -- and we would probably agree that that is better for their futures than staying home as drop-outs, but how much better, and what hopes do they have for full employment in fulfilling work, for economic independence and a satisfying family life? It has long seemed to me that the comfortable acceptance of education as a panacea, without investigating who receives it, what it contains, and what actual preparation for life it provides is not enough, and for women especially we have to complicate the picture -- and by doing so, perhaps open up the discussion of educational reform for men and women both.

By discussing the above social and demographic changes in Japan, however, I have tried to introduce an example of how other factors are significant, perhaps more significant, than the schooling effect on one's life. We may see some useful lessons for the rest of us, negative ones as well as positive ones. We see women seeking an alternative to the highly distorted work male work experience, we see women looking at work as transforming, but not dominating their lives. We also see that education alone does not empower women, that access, content and opportunity through education may not be the only answer, but that the hidden hand, and unintended consequences of social and demographic change may give young women in the future a recognized strategic role in the future of their society and this rather than education per se, may be the real source of empowerment. How they might take advantage of this leverage, turn the birth strike rhetoric around to create a transformative "shock" is what they must discover.

What can we learn from this? As an academic person, I tend to think of research agenda, but it's clear that these are also ACTION agenda. If education does not seem to be a leading agent of empowerment for women in Japan and the U.S., after all, what other questions must we ask? First, we should note that these countries have significant achievements already in educating women. Perhaps we should then ask what happens when this is achieved: how is opportunity provided once there is access and attention to content? What prevents the doors from opening at the threshhold of opportunity? We should also ask how women find alternative sources of power separate from the male model provided by their societies, and rather than separation, actually look to change for men too. It may not be such a good thing in the long run to be accepted into a male model of life and work, but it will be up to women to change the relationship between education, work and life chances.

《Lecture IV: Decision-making》

Women's Participation in the Decision-making Process

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Women's Participation in the Decision-Making Process

Reiko Aoki

Outline:
1. Introduction
2. Why Women's Participation is Needed
3. Current Participation of Japanese Women in Political Decision-Making as Observed in Statistics
4. Comparisons of Indices with Other Countries Worldwide
5. Future Issues

1. Introduction

It is true that ongoing efforts are being made, both at administrative levels and among ordinary people in Japan, to bring about changes in society to achieve gender equality. It is also true that women these days have made great strides: never before have their capabilities been so appreciated, nor has so much been expected from their active involvement as members of society, which extends from family life to the wider range of the community. Despite these facts, however, we are still unable to say that women, who constitute a majority of our population and whose rights have been guaranteed as equally as men under the Constitution for more than half a century, now fully enjoy a sense of gender equality. Various reasons for this may be cited, but perhaps the biggest obstacles to greater equality in Japan is the very small presence of women in forums where policy-making decisions are made. The absence of areas where women play leadership roles makes it difficult to claim that we have truly achieved a society where men and women fairly participate and represent themselves as equals.

Now, when we say decision-making areas, what precisely do we mean? What are these areas? And if Japanese women are currently not present in the decision-making process, what are the implications of their absence, and why does this tend to happen?

In this context, probably the first situation to spring to all our minds is the ranking system both in private firms and government offices. We would naturally expect that those in top-levels of administration or management--such as directors and presidents--are the ones who participate in the decision-making process. They would be certainly the selected persons who constitute the central core of their organizations.

Of course, there are other organizational structures in the workplace that allow a slightly different style of participation in the decision-making process. For example, planning teams related to program-making for the media, o faculty groups of universities or schools allow the members involved, regardless of sex or rank, to voice their opinions, exchange views with each other, and even be responsible for making the final decisions on the adoption of proposals. Here the process of decision-making looks quite democratic and open. But this does not mean that the members involved can necessarily join the business of management which is responsible for the fundamental activities of the organization as a whole. Those who can join the management process, or who have the opportunity to impress their opinions on the management, are usually confined to the level of top-ranking staff only.

Consequently, even though the situation is generally improving for women in taking general administrative jobs, we cannot really claim that women are present in decision-making positions until they can be ranked equal to men in management-level positions. Since there are only a few women in such positions in the workplace now in Japan, we feel that women are still behind in the of decision-making process.

It is a matter of fact that in order to bring women into decision-making positions in the workplace it is first necessary for qualified female staff to be promoted to such levels, and sometimes it might take time to find and foster women of this calibre. But at the same time, we have to realize that many organizations are too often bound by social, religious, or conventional views and practices, and locked into fixed attitudes toward women when they evaluate female staff. In corporations, in particular, which are anxious to maintain the confidence of those they do business with, social conventions and set attitudes toward women mean that the evaluation of female staff may not be based purely on their calibre and skills. Because of this, it is too much to hope that the obstacles barring women from policy-making positions can be removed at a single stroke.

In situations other than the workplace, such as in volunteer groups, there are many cases where women are included in the top management of the group. In community activities or in non-governmental organizations (NGOs), for example, there are often at least one or more female directors present who have been elected, or appointed to fill some gender-based quota. Strangely enough, however, you may often find there is a persistent pattern of male-female combinations, where the chairperson or equivalent is a man, and the vice chairperson is a woman. The common practice in PTAs of having combinations of a male chair and female vice chair is said to be changing, but, on the whole, there is not yet much evidence of such. In these cases, although opportunities are open in principle for both women and men to join in the decision-making process, women are not always fairly and equally represented in these positions. Thus the idea of equal participation of men and women has not been fully achieved.

Finally, how do women become involved in the course of decision-making in politics, both on the national and local levels, the areas that are considered most important among decision-making bodies? In examining the situation, we can present three main openings for participation in politics: first as politicians, second as national or regional civil servants, and third as members of government advisory councils. I will look at each of these in greater detail later, but in the overall view, statistics indicate that the number of women involved in all these areas is remarkably low, although there are no legal barriers at all to women's participation in any of them. Of the three areas, in particular, the degree of women's participation in national politics in Japan is reported to be among the lowest in the member countries of the OECD. This year being the fiftieth anniversary of women gaining the right to participate in politics in Japan, this is the very issue that Japanese women should be aware of and calling into question.

2. Why Women's Participation is Needed

I have already pointed out that the minimal presence of women in decision-making positions is the most serious factor hindering the advancement of the status of women. Needless to say, such conditions have been perpetuated by various elements such as social practices, conventional ways of thinking, or religious customs that have developed over a long period of time. These have in turn produced some fixed ideas about women in the course of time. Factors such as these compound each other to create a sort of vicious circle, and thus have had something of a multiplying effect on the whole. I would like to make some points in relation to this.

First, I would like to make clear that both in the process of employment and in the appointment of advisory councils, it is not simply a question of attaining the right quota of women in those areas. The more important implication is that through the participation of women whose voices and viewpoints are heard, matters that were once decided in terms of convention or standard practice can be addressed from a different standpoint. This very simple theory appears as a matter of fact, but it does not seem in practice to have been precisely understood.

For example, in some assemblies in the community, there is a notion that when two or more people are to be chosen to hold positions of responsibility, one should be a woman. The real reason for this, we hear sometimes, is simply to avoid the possibility of a fuss if someone claims discrimination against women. No one is particularly interested in the woman's views or opinions; they simply want to have a token woman among their numbers. In such situations, the woman will never be expected to serve in any leading post such as chairperson. The best that can be hoped for women in this situation is a subsidiary post, something like a deputy.

Of course, individual women are sometimes shown respect for their particular experience in their career, their social status or their celebrity, but this is rare. If we consider women's roles in the PTAs or in neighborhood organizations, most situations today continue to resemble the one I have just described. Women are chosen to serve as committee members or supporting officers in those organizations for no more demanding purpose than to make up the numbers or for the sake of appearance. The old idea that men belong out in society and women belong in the home is gradually being discredited, but in fact the convention that men serve as leaders and women as subordinates remains firmly in place.

A similar kind of thinking often dominates in the workplace. Suppose we look at statistical data on employment. It shows that the number of female employees is steadily growing, and at first glance this suggests that employment opportunities for women are growing as well. But in reality, there are still plenty of places where women are often employed because they are considered useful in subordinate roles.

Although women, at least in principle, have a fair chance to be promoted to a certain status in an organization, unlikely men, their appointment to important positions meets several difficulties in practice. Nobody doubts, of course, that if it is judged no competent staff member can be found among female employees, inevitably no women will be promoted. But the problem here, as mentioned before, is that such judgments are not often made on the basis of the competence of the individual concerned. Rather, in many cases, judgments are apt to be influenced by set ideas about women, social convention or a lack of precedents. There are concerns, for instance, that employees may not be happy having a woman as their boss, that the firm's clients or business associates will refuse to deal with her, or else her presence will disrupt the existing order and undermine teamwork. This leads to negative views that a woman in a position of responsibility may not stay long in the post, because she may not be able to meet the firm's requirements over changing her working location or putting in the necessary hours. Thus, in the end, women are effectively shut out from the ranks of decision-makers.

Nevertheless, women these days working for corporations in leadership positions say that even though they want to be the equal of men, they do not want to simply follow the pattern of their male counterparts to become so-called "corporate warriors." In fact, it is not their intention to slip quietly into a male-dominated society, conform to the rules of that society and imitate men. Instead, they want to build a "new corporate order," replacing the existing structure with something geared more to life-styles that suit women, and based on women's sense of values and sense of what is rational, moral and human.

For instance, they want to consider the sort of life-style made possible by such ideas as flextime working, leave for child-rearing, time off for family responsibilities, and mid-life retirement and re-employment. Through all of this, men, too, will gain a new sense of values, and will join in enjoying the benefits of a more relaxed life-style. It is precisely in ideas such as these that a society in which men and women participate as equals will be born. Many women are well aware that if women are not present in areas where decisions are made about new working foundations, it will be difficult to launch or bring these social reforms into effect. At the same time, women's advance into the decision-making process will directly threaten the existing rules of male-dominated society, and this in turn is likely to create resistance to further advances for women in taking on decision-making roles.

3. Current Participation of Japanese Women in Political Decision-Making as Observed in Statistics

Although the actual situation of accepting women in decision-making positions in society is progressing more slowly than women expect, it goes without saying that women are making progress in their advance into such positions. It is clear from the results of surveys carried out annually by the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Labor that this has been proved both in the corporate world and in public offices, including many elective bodies. The following figures, for instance, show this trend as it appears in the central government and local administrative bodies.

(1) Numbers of Female National Civil Servants in Specified Administrative Posts at the rank of Grade 9 or Above*

FY	Total	Women	Percentage
1985	8, 118	40	0. 5%
1986	8, 320	53	0. 6
1987	8, 474	57	0. 7
1988	8, 538	58	0. 7
1989	8, 669	56	0. 6
1990	8, 789	67	0. 8
1991	8, 745	63	0. 7
1992	8, 930	63	0. 7
1993	9, 073	73	0. 8

*(Source: National Personnel Authority, "Women's Participation in Policy-Making," Survey on General Civil Service Appointments, March 1995)

The above table indicates that the number of women promoted to senior posts is increasing year by year, but the increase is extremely small. What is most noticeable, however, is that the absolute number of women in senior posts, if compared with the total figure, has hardly changed at all.

(2) Appointment of Women to Administrative Positions in Local Government (FY1994)

In local administrative bodies, the proportion of women in senior posts in prefectural governors' offices in 1994 is illustrated in the following figures(fig. a). Likewise, the figures for women in senior posts according to specified ranks are shown in another chart(fig. b).

(Fig. a) Women in Administrative Posts Equivalent to Section Chief or Above in Prefectural Governments, 1994**

	Total	Women	Percentage
Governors' Offices	11, 347	251	2. 2%

(Fig. b) Positions of Women in Administrative Posts in Prefectural Governments, 1994**

	Total Women in Admnstr. Posts	Directors	Deputies	Section-Chiefs
Governors' Offices	251	13	28	210
Percentage	(100. 0)	(5. 2)	(11. 2)	(83. 7)
Previous Survey	250	12	18	220

**(Source: Survey by the Ministry of Labor, June 1994)

As is obvious from these tables, the number of women in administrative posts in local governments is still dramatically small, and furthermore, the vast majority of women do not get promoted beyond the level of section chief or deputy-director.

(3) Government Advisory Councils (National)

Now, in Advisory Councils that allow civilians by appointment to participate in government administration, strictly on the advisory level, to what extent are women engaged in such roles? The following table shows changes in the degree of women's participation in the past over successive five-year periods.

Female Members of Advisory Councils***

FY	ACs/ Total	No. of ACs w/women	Ratio	Members/ Total	Women	Ratio
1975	237	73	30.8%	5,463	133	2.4%
1980	199	92	46.2	4,504	186	4.1
1985	206	114	55.3	4,664	255	5.5
1990	204	141	69.1	4,559	359	7.9
1995	207	175	84.5	4,284	631	14.1
(1996)						(15.0)

***(Source: Prime Minister's Office)

According to the table, the number of women sitting on government advisory councils has been steadily increasing, and this could be taken as indicating a highly favorable trend. This steady advance, however, has only occurred since the Prime Minister's Office posted a target figure of 15% to be met by 1995. What is important to note is that the target figure itself is extremely low in comparison with equivalent figures in other countries, which will be discussed later. Furthermore, we need to bear in mind that the use of target figures has inherent pitfalls. Targets, like affirmative action, although only provisional or temporary, can easily be misconstrued as final measures. Thus once they reach the set target figure, in many cases no further improvement is thought necessary.

(4) Members of the National Diet: “The Madonna Frenzy”

Finally, let us look at the proportion of women elected to legislative assemblies, which play the leading role in national politics. Figures are given below first for 1950, the year that women could execute for the first time their right to participate in government, then for 1989, the year of the so-called Madonna Frenzy when many women candidates won election in July both at national and local levels, and then for subsequent years. (Note the difference in figures between February and July in 1989).

Number of Female Diet Members****

FY/Mon	Diet			Lower House			Upper House		
	Total	Women	Ratio	Total	Women	Ratio	Total	Women	Ratio
50/11	699	24	3.4%	449	12	2.7%	250	12	4.8%
89/02	752	29	3.9	500	7	1.4	252	22	8.7
89/07	749	40	5.3	497	7	1.4	252	33	13.1
90/02	763	45	5.9	512	12	2.3	251	33	13.1
92/03	751	46	6.1	502	12	2.4	252	34	13.7
92/07	752	49	6.5	500	12	2.4	252	37	14.7
93/03	749	49	6.5	497	12	2.4	252	37	14.7
94/03	761	52	6.8	509	14	2.8	252	38	15.1
95/03	753	51	6.8	503	13	2.6	250	38	15.2

****(Source: Lower and Upper House Secretariats)

In July 1989 on toward 1992, a relatively high number of female members were elected to the Lower and Upper Houses, but of more significance here is that subsequently there has been no appreciable change in the numbers of women in either House. The number in the Lower House has hardly increased at all, and the 1994 percentage figure of 2.8% ranked Japan 149th out of 176 countries in a June 1994 survey conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). (Japan was ranked 16th for the proportion of female Upper House members). In the following year, 1995, Japan's ranking for its proportion of women in the Lower House improved to 92nd out of 186 countries. Periodicals and newspapers reported that this ranking placed Japan second from the last among 25 OECD member countries. These figures are outstandingly lower than the corresponding figures for other developed nations in Europe and North America.

4. Comparisons of Indices with Other Countries Worldwide

(1) Moving into Politics: Cases around the World

How much progress have women made in the legislative assemblies of other OECD member countries? According to the same IPU survey (30 June 1994), figures indicate that women have made the greatest progress in some European countries, mostly in northern Europe, followed by New Zealand. The table shows the highest ranked countries in order, with their percentages of female parliamentary members. Figures for the previous year, and in some cases the subsequent year, are given for reference.

	1994	1993	(1995)
Norway	39.4%	35.8% ②	(39.4%) ②
Finland	39.0	39.0 ①	(33.5) ③
Sweden	33.5	33.5 ③	(40.4) ①
Denmark	33.0	33.0 ④	(33.0) ④
Netherlands	31.3	29.3 ⑤	(31.3) ⑥
Iceland	23.8	23.8	
Austria	21.3	21.3	
New Zealand	21.2	16.5	

If we now list those countries, including non-OECD member countries, in which women comprise more than 20% of members of parliament, we get the following list:

	1994	1993
Seychelles	27.3	45.8
South Africa	25.0	2.6
Cuba	22.8	22.8
China	21.0	21.0
Germany	20.5	20.5
North Korea	20.1	20.1
Guyana	20.0	-
Luxemburg	20.0	13.3

Of the seven economically most advanced countries (G7) with indices of less than 10% in 1994, Britain has 9.2%, France has 6.1%, while Japan has 2.8% (2.3% in 1993). The US has 11.0% and comes 43rd in the IPU ranking. Italy has 15.1%, a major increase over the 8.1% of the previous year. Thus we can see that the extent to which women participate in political decision-making does not correlate directly with the country's economic might. Nevertheless, Japan's figure of below 3% is exceptionally low.

(2) United Nations Indices

In order to make employment in the United Nations Secretariat unbiased in terms of gender, efforts have been made steadily over the last several years to increase the low proportion of female employees and also increase appointments of women to top-ranking posts. These efforts are based on a resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1990. With regard to the composition of UN staff in posts subject to geographical distribution, a target was set to have 35% of total positions be held by women by 1995, and for senior posts above the level of D-1, the aim was to have women holding 25% of these posts by the same year.

To what extent this has been achieved is shown by the figures published for 30th June each year, which read as follows:

FY	Women in posts subj. to geographical distribution/UN	Women in posts above level D-1/UN
1991	20.2%	8.6%
1992	30.6	10.4
1993	31.3	12.8
1994	32.6	15.1
1995	34.1	17.1

Accomplishment of the most critical aspect, the promotion of women to top-ranking posts, is lagging, and thus the difficulty of achieving women's participation in decision-making can also be keenly felt in the United Nations.

Be that as it may, these UN targets have considerable impact around the world. They had some bearing on the target figure I mentioned earlier for appointments of women to government advisory councils in Japan, which the Prime Minister's Office set at 15% to be achieved by 1995. At the regional level, too, many prefectural governments are setting their own targets, among them quite a number aiming for the 'high' figure of 30%. But even though they are aiming to meet their targets by the year 2000, however, they do not seem to be in any hurry.

(3) Affirmative Action

The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies, adopted by the UN in 1985, in articles 86 to 92, call on national governments to pass legislation and set up the administrative means to encourage the appointment of women to administrative and decision-making posts, as a measure undertaken at national level to implement basic strategies to achieve gender equality. In order to attain these sorts of objectives, a number of countries have already worked out strict affirmative action policies. In such countries as Britain, France, Italy, Sweden, Belgium, and Germany, as well as in the EU, as part of measures for equal opportunity and improved pay in employment, men and women have to be given equal access to promotion. More concrete 'positive action programs,' backed by funding, have been adopted, and guidance is being implemented through companies, the media, higher education and the public sector.

The most renowned and also the toughest of all affirmative action programs relating to employment is the US prohibition code issued under Executive Order No. 11246. The order banned any gender discrimination in employment of contractors and sub-contractors working for the government through compulsory regulations. Canada is also running a similar affirmative action program, and Australia and New Zealand both have laws promoting equal opportunity in employment.

(4) Other Points

Among various efforts in different countries directed at women's greater participation in decision-making, several individual efforts are being made and actions other than legislative measures are being taken. For example, a New Zealand politician, Ms. Katherine O'Reagan, once Minister of Labor with responsibility for women's issues, explained she had started out simply as a supporter of a local politician, and finally became determined to stand for election by herself. Such cases are not unusual in New Zealand, she said, and many female politicians had got where they are by setting out to involve themselves in politics. (Speech by Katherine O'Reagan at the New Zealand Embassy in Tokyo, May 18, 1993).

While the circumstances and motivations prompting a move into politics may not be the same for everyone, if we are to make progress in this area, we must first ensure we have women of the calibre appropriate to situations of political decision-making. In Queensland, Australia, for instance, they have a system to allow people to put themselves forward as candidates for government advisory councils and the like, and this is one way of finding the human resources needed. Needless to say, in order to open up paths toward greater participation of women in politics, not just legal measures but greater individual awareness and positive attitudes are indispensable.

5. Future Issues

The report of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) published shortly before the Beijing Conference has been often quoted in various sectors in Japan. It indicated how far Japan is lagging in terms of women's advancement. While Japan's Human Development Index, based on education, income, average life expectancy, etc., ranked Japan number three in the world, in terms of women's social progress, Japan came 27th out of 116 countries. In the representation of women in the Lower House of the National Diet, Japan's figure of 6.7% put it in 63rd place, while the 0.8% of women in administrative posts in the national civil service ranked Japan 81st. The 42% of specialized and technical jobs undertaken by women put Japan in 53rd place, while Japan came 23rd in a comparison of men's and women's earnings (The Asahi, August 18, 1995).

I have already mentioned several separate issues that account to some extent for Japan's delay in promoting women's social advancement. Now, let us turn to the issues we need to deal with in the future. First, any positive change in the nature of Japanese society will require a more active approach from women themselves. Women must be more ready to step forward, take on responsibilities, and build a vision to present to society. It is hard to escape the feeling that we are simply digging our own graves by being passive out of fear of failure or becoming conspicuous, or being afraid of criticism for being different, or not wanting to deal with difficulties.

In order to foster women of calibre and make them more involved in society, we must prepare and educate them for a much wider range of roles and interests, without being bound to fixed ideas about gender roles. For this, we must correct the bias toward women choosing certain subjects to study at school, which has a direct effect on their choice of fields for their professional careers. Needless to say, this demands not only fair and proper career guidance in schools, but also parents' unbiased attitudes, that is, equal respect for their own children at home without distinctions made one the basis of sex.

Leadership starts from a strong sense of individuality. Fostering this sense in both men and women will be increasingly demanded in future society. But a social structure and conventions that encourage men to be leaders and women to be subordinates will only ever work toward discouraging any moves to foster women leaders. It is true that leadership also requires a certain aptitude and sense of responsibility. But fostering leaders is not simply a matter of theoretical concepts; rather, there is much that practical experience can teach. Besides, in order to foster leadership in women, women must encourage and support female leaders by themselves.

Finally, we must reevaluate our concept of what participation means. Just being included in a situation will not in itself lead to positive change for women. Rather, it will for the most part allow society to remain as it is, where men are leaders and women are subordinates. If women are to take it upon themselves to participate in building a new society in the future, they will have to eliminate that sort of relation between men and women. Only when we can rid ourselves of traditional thinking and fixed ideas, and when talents, resolve, action and responsibility are called for in decision-making situations without regard to gender, can we begin to work toward a society in which men and women participate as equals.

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《Resume of Group Discussions》

Group 1: Women's Viewpoints on International Co-operation

Chairperson and Rapporteur:
Dr. Tatsuo Hayashi
Medical Doctor
Ex-Director of Japan International Volunteer Center (JVD)

Subcommittee 1, with participants not only from Japan, but also from Africa, Korea, the Philippines, and Brazil, had the atmosphere of a little international convention. Discussion centred around co-operation from the standpoint of its character: mutual aid transcending national boundaries.

It was noted that international co-operation includes a wide range of efforts such as bilateral official development aid, United Nations and other multilateral projects, and also transnational co-operation among non-governmental organisations.

Delegates from Africa contributed the idea that perhaps because most negotiation is carried out by men, not much governmental aid is appropriated for projects benefiting women in development. Indeed, in its present forms, assistance itself can not be regarded as beneficial, in the true sense of the word, to women and farming communities. Money spent by Japan and other industrialised countries, to build roads, for example, often works more towards their own ultimate benefit.

As industrialised countries experience difficulty achieving their intentions, they have begun to contemplate holding back contributions to such organisations as the UN. Also, in an era when much is said of globalism, women and local citizens in non-governmental organisations are finding it difficult to offer alternative plans.

Another aspect of assistance given by industrialised countries is the discrepancy in their expectations and those of the country receiving the assistance. It was suggested that one solution to this problem might be for the industrialised country to offer assistance in a co-operative capacity with the local NGO. One of the Japanese members of the group told of projects in Kenya, where an educational facility for orphans was constructed, local citizens were invited to participate in a co-operative effort investigating local area needs, and international conferences were sponsored.

Two more opinions left a strong impression. One, from a Japanese participant, who related that she felt her experiences caring for foreign people living here afforded an opportunity to induce favourable changes in Japan. The other, from a woman from Nemuro, who spoke of the return to Japan of the four northern islands. This should not be simply left to inter-governmental negotiations, she said. They are also searching within the community for ways to work together in peaceful coexistence with Russians.

some of whom are living in Nemuro, to recover the once flourishing fishing industry and improve living standards for everyone.

International co-operation is not easy. Given the difficulties of international co-operation, how should success be evaluated? Some answers might be found by looking for hints that can be gleaned from successes. One example from Holland was given, in which the government was appealed to for assistance in training WID specialists, and NGO alliances were formed. A suggestion was made that intensifying solidarity between municipal bodies might help. Other ideas offered were to begin by going ahead and doing what can be done, rather than get caught up in the technical difficulties, and to base the starting point for international co-operation on cultural exchanges between individuals.

A participant from the Philippines stressed the importance of the ties people in industrialised countries have with those in Asian and African nations. He gave the illustration of money deposited in postal accounts used for government investment and lending. These funds go to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which lends the money to needy countries. However, if a country is unable to pay back the loan, structural adjustment is made a condition of the loan, involving such measures as cutting back on the national welfare budget, devaluing currency, and lowering prices of products and produce for foreign sale. As a result, women's living conditions become steadily worse instead of better. Awareness of this kind of interconnectedness might give us a better understanding of how we can help each other.

I have been involved for 10 years in NGO establishment and enlisting government and corporate assistance to set-up networks, with scant results. My affection for the nations of Asia and Africa only adds to the disappointment I feel as I watch their situations deteriorate. I have watched too, with alarm, deterioration of the spirit - the Aum cult incidents and the Hanshin earthquake - that our own country is undergoing. But as I listened to these women from different countries who persevere in the challenges and complexities of international co-operation, I was empowered. I am convinced that women will make opportunities for effective change. I would like to conclude this report with heartfelt appreciation for the renewed hope they have given me.

Group 2: Women's Contribution to Environmental Protection

Chairperson and Rapporteur:
Dr. Junko Matsubara
Dean, Yokohama City University, College of Nursing

Our group had over thirty participants of all ages from countries such as Lesotho and Madagascar as well as from every corner of Japan. There were men, and people engaged in a variety of professions - some who are active world-wide. As I moderated this group, I couldn't help but think what an interesting combination of people we had.

After self-introductions, I suggested we consider environmental issues from the personal to the global level, and choose a topic that we could relate to at both levels.

The term "glocal" has been widely advocated in recent environmental policy discussion. 'Think globally, act locally', refers to awareness of pollution on a global level, and action on a personal level. But if you stop and think about it, local action can be effective against global level pollution such as PCB contamination.

Thought of in this way, it seems we can also say 'think locally, act globally'. Both are equally important.

As talk turned in this direction, Dr. Maria Mies brought up the topic of shrimp, a part of our everyday diet. The plentiful assortment of shrimp in Japanese markets comes from all over the world. For shrimp-producing countries such as India and Latin America, this is a lucrative business, but shrimp cultivation requires sea water. This is brought into the rural districts, and the soil becomes salty and cannot be used to grow crops. Although some people profit from the shrimp trade, eventually this results in destruction of environment and long-cultivated local crops. Dr. Mies emphasised the severe impact on local areas brought about by large amounts of shrimp consumed by industrialised countries. We were encouraged to be aware that the things we eat everyday can have effects on a global scale. Along the same line, a participant from Akita talked about sandfish sushi, a noted product of Akita. In years when the catch was poor, various measures were considered including sandfish cultivation. Before long, however, large amounts of these fish were being imported from Korea. Efforts devised locally became redundant as they were unable to compete with Korea's low prices. This is now a big problem in Akita. In this way, we were reminded that local problems in Japan are connected to global environmental issues.

The discussion logically progressed as to how we might resolve these problems. While time was limited, Dr. Mies suggested that we boycott shrimp. This would certainly be one solution, but this would still leave a myriad of other problems unsolved. There are many other things we need to consider. Dr. Mies gave another example. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has been incorporated into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in an effort to systematically carry out industrialisation policies throughout the world. Developing countries bear the debt for development projects, and they must repay these loans. There are benefits from development, but also disadvantages. In Papua New Guinea, woods were being cut down to make way for palm groves intended to realise profit from large-scale production of palm trees. This policy instigated by the WTO was effectively opposed by the local citizens, and forest preservation was reinstated. This is an example of how local citizens are coping with the big wave of industrialisation. A challenge for women and local citizens trying to safeguard their existence lies in dealing with the big wave of industrialisation made possible by modern technology.

As Dr. Mies states, we should not close our eyes to the patriarchal, combatant side of science and technology, but put blame where it is due and try to reform the many undesirable practices that result. Speaking personally, however, as a scientist who has long loved science, this is not to say that science has no value. Many people engaged in scientific pursuits are working hard to find ways to prolong life by developing new medicines and seeking new methods to preserve the environment, among others. I have often wondered why the accumulated wealth of scientific knowledge and technology has not been used more often for the well-being of the individual. A great number of scientists, excluding those in the munitions industry, are now being compelled to consider ways to transform science and technology so that it can be harnessed for the benefit of human welfare.

In the past year or two there has been frequent news coverage of advances in technology that are beneficial to the environment and those who are in vulnerable positions. It is important that we demand advances of this type. But demanding it is not enough; we need more people dedicated to scientific and technological research. Science is not made in a day. I believe it is important that we do not only expose and blame science and industrialisation for the problems, but that we also try to change existing technology so that it can be put to better use. I can personally attest to the fact that once companies become seriously concerned with environmental issues, they can surprise us with their rapid technological progress.

Ultimately, it is brainpower, people's mental ability itself, which is the most valuable tool. We need to look beyond material production, shift our thoughts and give priority to search better ways to use science and technology that will value and respect humans. Women and non-governmental organisations which are traditionally powerless groups must find ways to humanise male and industry-oriented technology.

The Japanese people have strong wish for disclosure of scientific information which tends to be concealed. This is a good starting point. Also we should also think and act globally. As we exchange information and attempt to help each other, we need to be aware that local problems are all ultimately global.

Group 3: Education and Gender Equality

Chairperson and Rapporteur:
Ms. Kumiko Bando
Director, Women's Education Division
Lifelong Learning Bureau
Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture

Our group had over fifty participants. We discussed education, which is a subject close to us all, and covered a wide range of topics. I would like to recount as many as possible at the risk of presenting a report which is not well-organised.

Before starting our discussion I presented the current state of education in Japan. During a lecture yesterday morning Dr. Merry White had analysed three stages of education; namely access, content, and opportunity, and we continued this line of discussion. I explained that for Japanese women, access to education is high. As to content, however, we see a large gender gap, in the choice of university majors to cite one example. Concerning opportunity, one participant pointed out that even women who have received higher education encounter obstacles in securing employment. And even after employment is found they come up against problems in the way top level executives view women employees. Also, people who take advantage of University of the Air and other lifelong learning programmes often find it difficult to put what they have learned to practical use or share their experience with others. We probed further into these problems by discussing possible solutions.

Because so many issues were brought up, Dr. White sorted them out and analysed for us the various factors involved. She listed three objects: education, employment, and life satisfaction. To fulfil these objects, and effect social transformation, one source which works both positively and negatively is the economy. This includes recession and unemployment at the macro level, and problems in the individual workplace at the micro level, which all have an effect on women's issues. Besides the economy, other sources including demography, technology, politics, and the legal system, all exist as primary factors in social change. Dr. White gave examples of devices which can be used to achieve these changes: social services such as family support, media including computer networks such as the Internet, and international pressure, which can be effective.

The fact that the high educational access enjoyed by women is not always linked to opportunity led group members to propose many solutions: the importance of changing parent's thinking in regard to daughter's education, the question of how parents should raise children, and the need for a general reform of consciousness by everyone, including men. Within the school setting, we should recognise not only the need for gender equality but also for education that values both individuality and diversity. These values should also be incorporated in the teacher training process. A related issue is the increase in our own country of foreign labourers, foreign exchange students and others from overseas. Internationalisation brings with it the need to instil in the average citizen an awareness and respect for the cultural diversity in Japan, and should be incorporated in our school education as well.

The need to encourage young girls was brought up. An English teacher told of inviting a Japanese woman who uses English actively in her work. She related how she made practical use of English to advance her career. The teacher said that the experience was a very positive one for the students. Another point mentioned was the scarcity of women in scientific professions and the need to give the students more role models of women scientists.

Another participant told us about a computer network project called Women's On-line Media Project at Keio University's Shonan Fujisawa campus. This is a good example of the new age in media usage.

Returning to the topic of attitudes towards women's education, the need for informal education at the grass-roots level was brought up again. Views concerning women's universities and all-girl high schools was divided into two: those who were in favour, and those who were not completely against this, but felt that other alternatives should be explored. Those in favour felt that all-girl schools provided an environment in which female individuality could be established without the need to compete with boys at a period when they are very conscious of them. They regarded this as a big plus. Others felt that when considering gender and role equality, all-girl schools might not be the best answer.

We also heard many illustrations from foreign countries. A participant from Mauritius said that boys and girls had equal access to elementary and secondary education, but boys study science, while girls study home economics and social sciences. A Korean participant told of the recent drive in Korea to become actively engaged in international society. Women's issues are perceived as crucial to the realisation of this goal. Starting next year, Korea will take affirmative action by hiring women employees to fill thirty per cent of government posts. This is a big step forward given the comparatively strong influence of Confucianism in Korea which had traditionally kept women at home. My impression was that Korea is more dedicated to internationalisation than we are in Japan.

Group 4: Participation in the Decision-making Process

Chairperson and Rapporteur:
Dr. Reiko Aoki
Professor
University of the Sacred Heart

This was a very international group with participants from countries such as Kiribati, Malawi, Pakistan, Zaire, Switzerland, Canada, and Korea among the forty-five present.

We decided on topics and how we would advance discussion. The three topics were: first; action itself including issues which are involved in women taking public office, second; commitment on the part of concerned individuals; and third; networking.

Our discussion of the first topic, on women taking public office, focused on the field of legislation in general and local politics in particular. A suggestion was made that we narrow down the focus of discussion to either women running for office, or to supporters of these candidates. These are two sides of the same coin which cannot be separated. I suggested that we approach this topic from both sides, and give our unreserved opinions, examples of failure as well as success, and also personal experiences.

In the first place, when speaking of action, what does it mean to be a politician? Everyone has the right to vote, but the majority of us have experience as voters, but few of us have experience as candidates running for political office. Fortunately, there were participants in the group who had this experience or were presently serving terms of office, and they shared their experiences with us. One problem mentioned was the isolated position women candidates are in. They often have no social context, social position, or support groups to draw upon. Rather than running for election as a lone wolf, it might be advisable to have the support of a political party with roots in the community, and an example of success was given. Also the question was raised of whether reliance on an existing political party was such a good thing. Running without this kind of support can help give a "clean political image" and win wider support from women's groups. An example of this successful approach was presented.

Returning to the issue of using established political party, question was raised as to how women can be recognised in an electorate which has traditionally been male-oriented. Most group members agreed that there is a need for us women to accept that as women we have unique personality and thus unique political role to play. However, in reality men who have long held political office and have strong leverage in an electoral district are able to hand over this power, along with a favourable voting constituency, to next-generation candidates. Under the circumstances women who champion women's causes on political battlefield face limitations for we do not have this type of hereditary support.

Use of personal issues by a woman candidate in an election can be both a strength and a weakness. It is a strength in that the candidate can make a strong appeal to voters with concrete examples of things she knows from personal experience. But if these issues do not appeal to the electorate as a whole, this can become a weakness. Use of familiar issues such as children, the family, ageing society, employment, local problems, and the environment, in an election can increase general awareness of women on these issues. Appealing to society and the public from a woman's perspective can lead to the understanding that these issues apply not only to women alone, but to the entire society, the world, and all mankind.

Another large hurdle for woman in declaring candidacy for public office is the problem of funding. Some candidates use their private funds, others receive assistance from support groups, and still others, from a political party. The last major question we discussed was who will bear the financial burden of running in an election. Ms. Irene Santiago told us about a system in the United States called Emily's List. Emily stands for Early Money is Like Yeast, to express the idea that an investment in promising women works in the same way as yeast. A list of promising candidates is drawn up, and the money is used to launch them as effectively as possible into elections. Supporters draw up plans skilfully, and steadily advance organisational activities in preparation for the next election. This was very encouraging to hear!

The next issue we discussed was how to connect local activities to national politics. In Zaire, Africa the church is used as a parent organisation for various groups, because large numbers of people congregate there. Another suggestion was to work through non-governmental organisations.

At the national political level, it was noted that the present election system in Japan makes it difficult to launch women candidates. It was felt that discussion of solutions to this problem might lead us too far astray of our theme, so we decided not to discuss this, but to keep the issue in our minds.

It is important to clarify issues at the national level as well as at local levels. Women candidates have hard time gaining recognition at a national level. Effective use of the mass media might be one solution but caution must be had to avoid being abused. Another is the need to construct a system to carry what has been painstakingly built up at the local level to the national level. Campaign support alone is not enough. Local accomplishments must be brought to a higher and more enduring level. We had a lively debate on these national level issues.

The next topic, the process of personal commitment, tied in directly with everything that we had previously discussed. We considered this from many perspectives: being aware of compelling issues around us, communicating these issues to others, thinking in new ways not based on existing social customs or value judgements, and advocating shift in economic policies. Other opinions included the need, not only to voice big aspirations, but to formulate clear plans and blueprints for change. While alternative policies are very meaningful, there are big risks too, so they should be well worth the risk. Policies should never be negative, but must have hope for the future. We must win acceptance of the fundamental principle of the universality of women's rights. The group also discussed the need to fill the gap between the law and reality, and to build networks.

This led us inevitably to the third topic - building networks. Local projects need to be spread throughout the country. We need networks that transcend generations, women's networks that transcend political parties, and networks that transcend national boundaries.

From now onward, new alternatives should be considered in building networks. Some of the younger participants suggested use of e-mail (electronic mail) and the Internet. Promote new alternative system to existing ones, for example, introduction of the quota system. Women must change their thinking towards other women so as not to hold each other back. We also need to transform our attitudes towards men.

Lastly, we considered what kind of action we should be taking in the future. The conclusion reached was that we should come up with new ideas, construct systems to carry them out, and put ideas into action on an individual basis. With these thoughts, we closed our group discussion.

Active participation by all made it a very productive session. There were differences of opinion, and in the way issues were defined. A wide range of opinions is always desirable. The fact that everyone shared a common goal made the discussion involved and exciting.

〈Resume of Plenary Session〉

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Thank you all for coming. I would like for us to release all the energy we have stored up and use our final efforts to bring matters to a conclusion.

The theme of our forum is "Following the Fourth World Conference on Women – let's expand grass-roots networking". Our purpose, based on results of the Fourth World Conference on Women and the NGO Forum, was to assess present women's issues and explore solutions to problems, and establish locally based networks for intercultural exchange groups, to promote solidarity among women around the world. Following the Fourth World Conference on Women, one important keyword is 'gender perspective', considering the grass-roots movement from woman's perspective. Another keyword that has already come up in many group reports is 'empowerment of women'.

We have heard reports today from other groups. Let us hear how you have understood the issues and problems discussed in your group, and how you relate them to things you found of interest in other groups.

After forty minutes of observations from the floor, I would like to close with a five-minute wrap-up from each of our commentators. Can we have observations, comments, and questions from the floor please? Please speak freely.

Participant A:

Would Ms. Santiago please explain Emily's List in a little more detail? Also, I would like to announce that last night after dinner, some of us gathered in the lounge and contributed 300 yen each towards an autonomous workshop, during which we formed a little network. Everyone will send me a postcard telling why they attended this conference and what they are currently doing in their district. We will use this information to issue a newsletter that I will mail to everyone. We want to take advantage of this opportunity to continue the relationships we have formed, and I hope all of you will participate in this network.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Thank you very much. First let's hear more about Emily's List from Ms. Santiago.

Ms. Irene M. Santiago:

EMILY is not the name of a woman. It is an acronym. As Dr. Aoki said, it stands for "Early money is like yeast." You all know what yeast is: it is the catalyst that makes dough rise.

The idea behind this fund is to give women candidates early money so that their candidacies can take off. This fund has been set up by women in the

Democratic Party in the U.S. The Republican women also have a fund with the same purpose as Emily's List. Funds are given as support to women candidates who are likely to win. So it is not given to every woman candidate. The money is used strategically. They identify the candidates from all over the U.S. who are most likely to win. They give them this money as a push because usually women candidates have very little money for their campaigns.

If you did something like this in Japan, it could be very revolutionary. Lack of funds is one of the major obstacles to getting more women to run for elected office, especially at the national level for which more funds are needed. I would certainly support the suggestion that something like Emily's List be established in Japan to support women candidates who are most likely to win.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

I hope we can do something like this in Japan - any name would do, Hanako, for example. I am sure we can use Emily's List project as a valuable reference.

Participant B:

We hear the term 'non-governmental'. I think another good expression might be 'non-profit sector'. In Japan the term NGO is widely used, but overseas we often hear these organisations classified as Sector 1 to Sector 4. Is there any difference in nuance or meaning?

Dr. Tatsuo Hayashi:

Both non-government organisation and non-profit organisation are terms used to differentiate organisations whose purpose is not commercial from government and commercial enterprises. In today's society, especially Japanese society, public agencies including governmental ones, and commercial organisations of which business enterprises are central, take up so much space as if they are the only organisations that exist. But women, farmers, and local citizens command a strong presence. I think either NGO or NPO is fine if it clarifies their roles and position in society. However, the term NGO seems to be used more frequently by internationally active groups, and NPO by groups active within Japan.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Adding to this, I think many groups use NPO to express their pride and the selfless nature of their activities, but as Dr. Hayashi explained, what is important is the content. I do not think we have to be particular about the name. The United Nations uses NGO, and many newspapers do too, so I think we can interpret this as just a universally accepted social expedience.

Participant C:

We have been saying that it is women, non-Japanese, and young people who will change Japanese society. But I think there is one element missing. If men do not change, I don't think there will be any significant change in our society. I am one of the baby boom generation who received a post-war democratic education. In the workplace, however, the male colleagues of our generation are in positions of management and we women work in subordinate positions. Women do not need to become managers necessarily, but I would like to see men and women working together for change. I had placed hope in managers of our generation but things remain the same as they have always been. No men in management position is trying to change the workplace, politics or administration. They are all bound to conventions. To me, this is extremely regrettable. Dr. Hayashi, isn't there anything we can expect from the men?

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Let's have Ms. Bando address this question too.

Dr. Tatsuo Hayashi:

Whether we are talking about environmental issues, the North-South problem or whatever, women have many opportunities to learn about these things, and consequently a great number of women are concerned about them. Unfortunately, many men are so involved in the company that they are unaware of these issues. Speaking for my generation, there are many men who are in managerial positions but want to change jobs, because they are not able to accomplish what they really want to do in the company. Perhaps if men could find more satisfaction in their work, they would be better able to co-operate with women to change things. I think this is a possibility. For those of us who are active in non-governmental organisations, the overwhelming majority of people we associate with are women. I guess we will have to place our hopes in the future.

Ms. Kumiko Bando:

Honestly speaking, I do not think we can expect much from the baby boom generation. The younger generation, of about thirty-five and below, seem to have a very different awareness of things. I see a difference in how people think about home education, for example. Let me briefly introduce some of the things that are being done in the Women's Education Division, where I work.

One of the programmes we subsidise is a series of lectures given at companies by municipal education boards. Our purpose is to try and encourage greater male participation in home education and child rearing. The reason we go to the companies is because we find that many men will attend the lectures who would not have when they were held in places like community centres. This programme has helped many men change their thinking about home education. So I think one solution is to go out to the companies.

Another programme we are planning for university students, attempts to give these young people, just getting ready to work and start families, an opportunity for more in-depth exploration of various issues. We envision seminars attended jointly by these young men and women which would give them chances for hands-on learning experiences in the home, the workplace, and the community. For example, trips to day care centres are planned to observe what kind of systems exist to support families with working parents. They could see how the children are being cared for, and hold discussions with teachers and staff at these day care centres. Another possibility would be to visit companies that promote increased employment of women, and talk with the managers about this. The scarcity of men involved in environmental issues has already been mentioned. Through these seminars we could provide opportunities for young people to meet with those who are locally active in this area, to exchange opinions. Perhaps a workshop could be held where they actually participate in some of the environmental work being done in the community. Perhaps development of models that target the young people will help to change the world a little.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Thank you. Besides the baby boom generation in Japan, we can mention, among others, the Yuppies (young urban professionals) and DINKS (double income no kids) in America. Dr. White, can you tell us the situation in regard to expectations of these different generations in America?

Dr. Merry I. White:

I'd like to add my comments on both America and Japan, though I am not an expert on America! It is true that Americans make broad generalisations about generation, just as Japanese do. Our "Generation X" is not the same as the "shinjinrui" but they are similar in that they were both invented by media and marketers looking for a new demographic segment to characterise - and sell to. Rather than accepting such vast definitions of an age cohort, it is better to look at the great diversity within any one generation. In Japan as well, the effort to create a mass market hides the great diversity there too. What I found when I was interviewing teenagers in Japan over four years, is that they may all care very much about the same topics, but they show great diversity and variety in their experiences and points of view.

One of great similarities between the young in both America and Japan is that they seem to have a dream, or many dreams of the future, especially dreams of something different from what they see as their parents' experience. Young women would tell me, "I don't want to be like my mother," even as they may admire their mothers, and young men say, "I won't be like my father. I want a broader range; I don't want to be local - I want to be global." And they are trying to figure out how within the narrow confines of the image of success society offers they may implement those dreams.

We are seeing a population that is characterised by adults as materialistic and selfish and narrow-minded, actually reaching out to do something bigger. It's the young people in both countries, especially Japan, who are engaging in local environmental activity, projects for the community. I think Japanese kids have a lot to teach American kids on local involvement in the community, a fact which may surprise most Americans.

Participant D:

For many years I have taught classes for parents in home education, and I would like to share some thoughts on this. Schools tend to have a closed attitude towards opening their facilities and do not easily open them for community use. Last year we were able to obtain use of a school facility to hold a dinner meeting for senior citizens and children, and for several other things too. It is difficult to spread activities of this nature throughout the community, because most of the other schools will not allow their facilities to be used for these activities. I would like to see schools used for such things as symposia on volunteer activities, or workshops to let people experience what it is like to be in a wheelchair. I believe schools should be much more involved.

Ms. Kumiko Bando:

I discussed a little about this at our group yesterday. The Central Council on Education, which is the advisory organ to the Minister of Education, Science, Sports and Culture has been discussing since April, what roles might be played by the school, the home, and the community and co-operation between them. One of the things the Council is deliberating is the need for the school to return to the home and community some of the responsibilities it has been shouldering. It is also talking about making schools more available to the community for a variety of uses. In Japan, the number of children has dropped drastically, resulting in surplus classrooms. In some localities these surplus classrooms are being remodelled by local public bodies into libraries for use by local citizens, or as centres for a variety of group activities.

Utilisation of human educational resources within the community is also very important. People active in environmental work may be invited to come and talk to elementary school pupils in home economics classes. The Japan Committee for Economic Development has proposed that business people from corporations be sent to schools in a variety of guidance capacities. These are some ways educational resources of the community can be brought to the schools.

In the Japanese society, people tend to rely on the government for many things. But if we are talking about citizens working to change society, then volunteer work is an extremely valuable tool. Caring for others and sharing a spirit of co-operation benefit us all. The Council is also discussing the idea of incorporating more volunteer activity into school programmes. We can look forward to advance in this direction.

Dr. Tatsuo Hayashi:

I think of single-purpose facilities as 'mono-culture'. Why do schools have to be just schools? In Kobe, some schools have functioned both as shelters for earthquake victims and schools at the same time. By placing school and welfare facilities side by side, by bringing a lot of things into the school, we could give schoolchildren a chance to see something like a microcosm of society. When I see a school building and campus I think of so many ways it could be used for. It seems strange it is only being used for one purpose. I would like to ask the Ministry of Education why that is!

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Thank you very much. That was really said with feeling! We all feel as if we were scolded, don't we?

Dr. Merry I. White:

I'd like to add an example from Japan of grass-roots community mobilisation. In Okinawa there is a grass-roots movement that is working locally in conjunction with some schools, temples and municipal centres to provide support for families with disadvantages, such as single-parent households. This movement began as a branch of the BUNKO movement, a kind of home-library movement. However, in remote rural areas in Okinawa, they developed this into a wider support system for parents of young children, including infants, using local facilities and materials, and a lot of co-operation and volunteers, including women, retired people, working people. This is bottom-up, not top-down mobilisation and it is very impressive.

Participant E:

I have a question about surplus classrooms. I have made a request to the Ministry of Education to open schools in Kawagoe so that they can be used as library and meeting place for senior citizens. There was no problem obtaining permission for the library, as it is linked to school education. We then asked to be allowed to use surplus classrooms as places where the elderly could gather and have social exchange with the children. Because of the administrative turfs involved (schools come under Ministry of Education whereas senior citizens come under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Health and Welfare), there was a great deal of objection to using surplus classrooms for this project. I would like to see a system where it is easier to get municipal petitions accepted. If the country's vertical administration system is eliminated, it will be much easier to get things done at the local level. Local citizens will be able to do more, and greater space for welfare can be provided. I really hope everyone will work to make this a reality.

Ms. Kumiko Bando:

I am not directly involved with this, but in this case, I think the problem arose because schools receiving government subsidies must use them for educational purposes. However, the Ministry of Education is now starting to examine ways to co-operate with the Ministry of Health and Welfare on projects such as the Angel Plan to cope with the low birth-rate problem and use of school facilities. A search for solutions to such long-range problems as our ageing society and the low birth-rate will include gradual elimination of the problem of vertical administration.

Dr. Tatsuo Hayashi:

What can private citizens do to help open up the schools, for example? Do we go to the legislature, contact Diet members, or write letters to newspaper editors? What methods would be most effective?

Ms. Kumiko Bando:

One thing we need to do is look for ways to have our opinions heard by bodies, such as the Advisory Council, that are deliberating this problem. The Central Council for Education that I mentioned earlier is considering the use of e-mail to hear opinions of a greater number of people. Private citizens should make active use of this and as many other channels as possible to have their opinions heard.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Thank you very much. There are a diversity of needs which are constantly changing, and we need to make sure that the administrative system keep up with them. At the same time the onus on us is to clarify what our needs are.

Participant F:

You have been emphasising the need for co-operation with others to work towards solutions. I would like to give an example where legal and administrative regulations make this impossible.

Relatively recently a regulation of the Ministry of Construction was put in place in which public buildings that are 2,000 square meters and over can receive subsidies from the National Treasury if they make improvements in building facilities for the handicapped. However, school buildings are exempted from its application. The reasoning being that school buildings are used for educational purposes and application of the regulation would rob the universality of their objective. School facilities are difficult to access for the elderly and the handicapped because of the design, of elevated areas and stairways. Just when we are working to open up schools for multipurpose use, this kind of regulation suppresses our good intentions and makes the regulation inappropriate. Rather than saying that this is not in its jurisdiction, the Ministry of Education should work with other ministries to try and solve this sort of problems.

Another example is train stations. The area from the ticket vending machines to the wicket falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Construction, but the area beyond the wicket comes under the Ministry of Transport. Consequently the stairways are not covered by this regulation, and no reconstruction is planned. These are just a few examples of how the law and administration not only make reform difficult, but also make the regulations themselves irrelevant. I think women need to speak out strongly about this.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Thank you very much. I think this relates to the previous point. We need to begin to make our voices heard and not just wait for the government to do something. Networks can be effective towards this end too.

Participant G:

Yesterday, Ms. Colombo and Dr. Miens pointed out that modernisation and globalisation, which women are also demanding, have adverse effect on nature and environmental economy. Dr. Mies suggested developing local economy as an alternative. But Ms. Colombo had a different view. I wonder if she would explain a little more about her views on dealing with the undesirable effects of globalisation.

Ms. Daniela Colombo:

Dr. Hayashi has just said that he felt frustrated yesterday because during the workshop we didn't have time to discuss about solutions to the problems we had identified. Well, we had only three hours, but even if we had had 30 hours or even 300 hours or 3,000 hours, we wouldn't have found solutions to all the problems that women in developing countries face.

Not only are we met with many problems, but there are also different solutions to the different problems. So, I would like just to make a few remarks for those of you who want to get involved in development co-operation. I think it is very timely for Japanese women to do so.

First of all, whatever you plan of doing, you have to act according to the needs of the people you will be working with. This is the most important thing.

Secondly, whatever you do, you have to remember that being an NGO there are many things you can do. You can implement many projects and do demonstration programmemes that can show the way things should be done. But it is extremely important that you keep on watching what your Government is doing, because it is at that level that you can have the greatest impact, not only in development co-operation policy, but also on the trade policies.

This has come out very clearly from Beijing. Women's problems are just part of a wider global system and we have to be attentive at all the different aspects. That is not easy to do. And you have to have the technical means to do it. When we talk about adjustment policies and debt when we talk about international laws, we have to know very well what we are talking about. One cannot talk about these issues without having a deep knowledge.

Yesterday I suggested to create a study group at University level on Gender and development. Then it will trickle down its knowledge also to the NGOs.

The third thing I would like to suggest is that one must be very optimistic when working in development co-operation matters. One of your colleagues from Korea yesterday said that she has been working with the development agency of her country for four years now and that she feels very depressed and frustrated and pessimistic. I would like to tell her "well, change your job. You cannot go on working on women and development issues if you feel that way." We must be very optimistic and not being discouraged, even if we know very well that things not going to change in our life-time. It is too short a period.

As women involved in an international movement, we have achieved a lot. I have personally been involved in this movement for the last twenty years. And I think that also in the field of development co-operation for women, we have achieved a lot. You know, in Mexico City, twenty years ago, there was a strong confrontation between the women of the North who wanted equality and were fighting for their rights and the women of the South who were asking for food, shelter, dresses, basic needs .... this confrontation has been fading away from the Forum and the Conference of Copenhagen in 1980 to the one in Nairobi in 1985. The women found the way of collaborating and how to work hand in hand. And the marvellous thing about Beijing, about the Forum but also the Conference, was that is evident that women from the North and the South are now working together and they have the same vision of the world they want to live in and of their rights.

I am talking about the women working in the women's movement, not just those women who went to Beijing just to visit or to see what was going on. The women of the international women's movement share the same vision of the world and it is a world in which there is the need for the realisation of a full democracy. This is the starting point on which we all have to work together for the future.

I said before that I have been in the international women's movement, in the international networks of women, for the last twenty years. I never had a chance to work with Japanese women. This is the first time I have met so many of them. Not even in the Forum in Huairou. Certainly there were many Japanese women there, and they all seemed very busy. They were everywhere. But not in international networks. It was only during the Conference that a group of outstanding Japanese women became very visible in the Caucus doing the lobbing efforts.

I am very glad that I was invited to participate to this Conference. It has been a marvellous opportunity for me to link with so many Japanese women. We have exchange many cards ..... and I hope we will go on networking. The organisation I represent, the Italian Association for Women in Development, has been around for more than fifteen years. It was created after the Forum Copenhagen, when we realised the need for linking, for networking. And we are willing to share with you the information we have. But I cannot tell you what to do. You have to find your own means and ways. But I invite you to be very optimistic, and you will walk hand in hand with the other women of the whole world. After Beijing we are facing a new starting point and I am glad that Japanese women are now walking with us and with the women from the South of the Planet. Thank you.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Thank you very much. Let's hear from our commentators now.

Dr. Maria Mies:

I'm very glad at that I can participate in this meeting. And I was also very happy to be in that group, on which I have been asked to comment. Because there was a whole spectrum of different opinions, different questions which, of course, could not all be answered. But I just give you a brief overview of the issues raised:

There was, first of all, the question which Dr. Matsubara had already asked, namely what we can do here locally, which is a very important question. And when we tried to answer that question, it became evident that there's not one position, but these are at least two. Some people thought it would be best to ask the government, and the government should change things. My position, also perhaps that of some other women and men was that we have to start ourselves where we are, for instance, as consumers. I would like to correct a little bit what Dr. Matsubara said that I had said that we should not eat shrimp, for instance. This was not exactly what I said. I said we have to politicise consumption. It's a bit different. It's a much broader question at issue. Then the other issue discussed in our group was nuclear power. Why does Japan import plutonium? This question could not be adequately discussed.

A further question was: how does one reconcile the need for a healthy environment with the need to create employment for people? That was a question by a lady from Akita. Because employment, as it is understood now, means industry and industry's tool destroy environment. How do we reconcile these questions? They have not been solved anywhere in the world. So it's not only a Japanese problem, but it's a universal problem of industrial society, which is very, very urgent. I have my own suggestions which I will not make here, because that would go too far. But I think everybody here can reflect on this dilemma. We also have to reflect on employment, on work, in industrial society, because environmental problems put into question the whole model of industrial society. And we have to face this reality squarely, and not run around looking for little solutions here and there, protecting this bit and that bit. The whole model of industrial society, our whole understanding of development is put into question, not only by the women's issue, but also by the environmental problems learned from this meeting here. We can learn from different experiences.

Then there was another issue: How does one educate people to be more environmentally conscious or more environmentally aware? My answer is: Many people involved in the ecology movement learned through environmental action. Action is a school for consciousness, not only taking part in conferences like this, for instance. You do not get anywhere, really, unless you start doing things. That is my understanding which I gained in the women's movement. You do not understand a thing unless you begin to change the status quo. This is an old saying, but we have practised it in the women's movement. If you start changing things in your own area, you will understand what the problems really are. And you will also find the solutions. That is also one insight I gained here, because I have the impressions that in our group there was a lot of discussion on different experiences, and many people participated in it, which I liked very much.

But still there was also a kind of dependence on what the government does. "Government should do this, government should do that." This kind powerlessness, which people show, is not realistic, and it is not useful, and it is not adequate even. We are the people. We are the ones who have the power. And we can use it. I gave two examples of how people were doing this in the context of the new policy of economic globalisation.

One was how the people in Papua New Guinea opposed the World Bank policy of Structural Adjustments, which demanded from their government that the land, which so far, was still communal property of the clans, should be registered and eventually privatised, for the cultivation of export crops. The World Bank/I.M.F. expected that Papua New Guinea would thus be able to repay in debts. But the people refused to have the communal land registered, because they said: As long as we have our common land-rights nobody will be poor and starve.

And another example is the resistance of Indian farmers against GATT, against the World Trade Organisation. Millions of farmers were in 1995 very successful in fighting against the invasion of Multinational Seed Corporations, like Cargill Seeds into Indian agriculture. They do not want to allow MNCs from the North to control the whole agrarian sector in India as a consequence of the new liberal trade policy of GATT and W.T.O.

When I say we need localisation, instead of globalisation of the economy, I do not just say globalisation is bad and localisation is good. But we have to ask what this globalisation means for the majority of people in the world, those living in the poor classes of the South, those people who leave to fight for their survival. Those who do not have a welfare state to support them, when they are unemployed. These people have nothing but their local environment, their land, their forests, their water to fall back upon. Therefore they have to protect their environment, they have to protect their land and their rights. They have therefore the correct perspective. It is the perspective from the bottom up. These people know that they cannot wait till the government helps them. So they take action in their own hands. And this is what I learned by looking around in the world, where poor people try to find another vision of society, another vision of economy, because for them another vision of society and economy is a matter of survival.

In the South there are many examples of that now. Many people say: We are fed up with this type of development. We are fed up with this type of economy and we start doing things differently. And that is very inspiring. My optimism stems from such experiences. I am optimistic, if I look at the courage of local people all over the world who are fed up with this system, with this economy and society and struggle for a new society. They begin to understand that life does not come out of money, but of our interaction with mother earth and with one another.

A last thing I want to say with regard to technology, because I had the impression that my views on technology were a bit mis-understood as being totally anti-technology. This is not the case. I want to say that we need different relationships first: a different relationship to the earth, to each other, between men and women, between different peoples. And then we will have a different science and technology, and not a technology based on the principle of permanent growth and dominance over nature.

I was very happy when you used the concept of "corporate warriors." There are not only "military warriors," there are also "corporate warriors" in industry. But we women are fed up with all types of warriors. I think we don't need them.

One last point: It is not only the women who have to save the world from the environmental destruction. We have to stop this war affair, both of the military warriors and of the corporate warriors. And that needs not only a women's movement, but also a men's movement. That is my appeal to you. It is not enough, that men tell us women what to do, but I think that men have to begin to look into what they have done. I mean men in industrial society and those on top of military and corporate systems, and the other men who are also suffering from this system. They should look around and ask: "Is this really what we wanted?"

The main lesson I learned in this conference is that it's no point to wait for a government or any other big organisation and NGOs or GOs on the top, but we can start right where we are, from the bottom up, in our local situation.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Dr. White, may we hear your comments?

Dr. Merry I. White:

I want to thank everyone for their frank and interesting discussions. My thoughts are not particularly original. They are really a blend of all of your voices, and I hope we can go on hearing these voices. What I want to emphasise here are all different meanings of CONNECTION that we've created here.

First, I want to stress the content of our connection. We hope to connect all the substantive contributions that people have made in the past few days in these meetings. None of these issues is isolated: politics, environmental issues, economics, family issues, education, production are all integrated, not separable.

Another connection in this respect is that we are more tied together by commonality than divided by uniqueness or separation or differences. And it is a matter of choice whether we emphasise commonality or difference. One example of this is the Japanese emphasis on homogeneity and the American emphasis on diversity which seem to be at odds but in fact, both societies have both elements... The connection needs to be emphasised.

The other kind of connection will be that which connects experience to action which we are trying to do here. Experience and theory and action together. In every sector, in our smaller group sessions we heard many personal stories and experiences linking these things. We should establish goals for change and show how we can implement those in concrete, practical ways. And the most important thing we learned is the significance of motivation. It's very hard work. You need to be persistent, you need to have a positive kind of anger, you need to be dedicated. The call for optimism is also necessary, because anger can only be motivating if it has positive, not negative energy.

And another form of connection is network. To know that we can rely on each other, to use what we're learned here in future co-operation, everyone here has a starting point for that. We can start with each other at a high level of contact, and not have to start from a ground level point, based on the shared experiences of the last few days.

I have a few touchstone memories from the past days I want to emphasise. Everyone will have a different set of these, but these are voices I remember.

I remember a lady from Mauritius telling us of the remarkable dominance of women there in education. But of course, as Bando-san reminded us, the content of education may well be gender-driven. It may be that women are numerically stronger, but we must think of other things too. A woman from Lesotho told us that the absence of men has given women political prominence. Again, though, in this case it is not women's power but men's abdication that counts, and women are not empowered in public or private spheres.

But maybe I remember most one young woman asking about how she, as already burdened with a two-hundred percent life raising a family and working, how can she be expected to help the condition of women elsewhere in the world. Her sincere request for suggestions led Daniela to respond that there is much to be received, as well as given, in such cases. She may well gain knowledge and connections through working with women for women that could help her as well. There are so many ways to participate directly and through the process of networking. We learn from each other; it is not a one-way street. We learn from those we are supported to be helping. So one of the many ideas I came away with was that it may not be traditional institutions that we rely on to be a source of change, but the newly created communities operating somewhere between individuals and families on the one hand and "official structures" like schools and workplaces on the other that will make a difference. It's in this non-formal, unofficial arena as we've been saying, that we will have the greatest effect.

I'm summarising what other people have said here, that we do make a difference. I'm in the field of education, so I think of education as an agent of change for women. In terms of schooling, of course, the content and outcomes need to reflect women's real conditions. Moreover, education is a medium, a means, a credentialling process. Women in democratic societies where egalitarian access to schooling is supposed to exist, should be able to use educational degrees as well as men do, but we all know the subtle and unsubtle barriers that exist even in academic life. For example, recently in a faculty meeting a tenured male professor was heard to ask, "why do we need women on the faculty at all?" -- in an American university. However, being an academic does give me a kind of long term view, and a need for structured thinking, but in the end, even without that, we have here developed a kind of coherent logic of our own, a new logic of connection, and let's use it.

Thank you.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Thank you very much. Lastly, Ms. Santiago, would you give us your comments please?

Ms. Irene M. Santiago:

My colleagues have given you words of wisdom and words of inspiration. I cannot possibly add more to what they have already said. So instead of giving you yet another speech, I would like to sing. May I ask you all to stand up and join me in singing so that we can all get inspired and go out into the world with great optimistic for the future. I'd like us to sing the song we sang at the opening ceremony of the NGO Forum on Women and at various occasions in Huairou.

Gonna keep on movin' forward
Gonna keep on movin' forward
Gonna keep on movin' forward
Never turning back, never turning back.

Gonna raise our voices boldly
Gonna raise our voices boldly
Gonna raise our voices boldly
Never turning back, never turning back.

Gonna work for women's freedom
Gonna work for women's freedom

Gonna work for women's freedom
Never turning back, never turning back.

And that's the message we should remember as we move into the future! Thank you all very much.

Dr. Reiko Aoki:

Thank you all very much. I do not want to spoil the mood with any superfluous comments. All of your messages are right on target. I hope we can spread these messages to everyone around us, throughout Japan, and to the whole world. Men and women must work together to find new ways to enrich our earth and our lives, not only physically but spiritually as well.

I would like to thank our guests on behalf of myself and the panellists for co-operating to make this conference so successful. Also, sincere thanks to the interpreters who joined together with us to translate every detail of the proceedings, not just in a business capacity, but in a sincere effort to assist us in enlarging our circle of communication. Last but not least, a big thank you to all the participants. I would like to close the Conference at this time. Thank you one and all for attending.